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The origins and place of the balalaika in Russian culture : its migration to the USA, and the dissemination of balalaika orchestras in America with particular reference to the Kasura and Kutin collections at the University of Illinois.

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The Origins and Place of the Balalaika in Russian Culture, its Migration to the USA, and the Dissemination of Balalaika Orchestras in America with Particular Reference to the Kasura and Kutin Collections at the University of Illinois

VOLUME ONE

Martin Edmund Kiszko

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol
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ABSTRACT

The balalaika and the balalaika ensemble have become the definitive expression of Russian music throughout the world. Little, however, has been written outside Russia about the instrument. This dissertation attempts to fill this gap by providing a reappraisal of the balalaika.

The historical span of the study moves from the balalaika's earliest recorded emergence to the present use of the instrument in contemporary Russia and the USA. At the outset the questions of origin are discussed to assess how the instrument became one of the most largely popular and disseminated instruments in Russia - crossing class and geographical region and rising to the stature of a professional performing instrument for which art works of the East and West were rearranged or specially composed.

The transcontinental migration of the instrument is especially relevent to this study. The shifting demographics of the early twentieth century enabled the balalaika to find another home in the host country of the USA. It is here, amongst the flood of emigrés to the USA, that an examination of the growth of balalaika ensembles, repertoire, and the exposure of the instrument to the concert hall and media reveal whether the music of the balalaika acculturated to the musical life of the host nation.

Principally, two archives of manuscripts of native Russian folk music and the early arrangements of Russian-American orchestrators and arrangers serve to provide a record of the development of the balalaika ensemble in the USA. These recently catalogued collections of Walter J. Kasura and Alexander Kutin are housed at the University of Illinois.

DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertion is dedicated in memory of Walter J. Kasura (1919-1983), Alexander Kutin (1899-1985) and my father Nikodem Kiszko (1912-1996).

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the following people and organisations;

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Music copying services were provided by David Butterworth and George Chauvet kindly transferred computer files from an old Word Perfect format to the current Word 6 document. Ian Steele assisted with the transcription of the Chapter 4 charts for computer graphics. Thanks to Juliet Crabtree for word processing services.

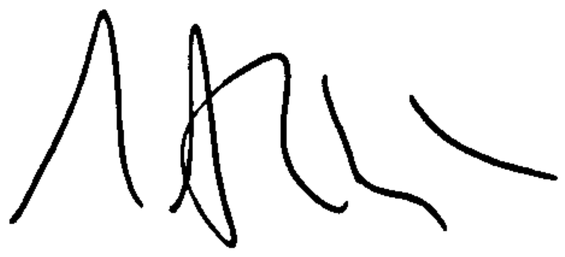
Finally thanks to my family Abigail, Serafina, Luka and Zita who have had to listen to balalaika 'speak' for 8 years.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work contained in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Signed:  Date: 30.09.1999

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TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATIONS

The transliteration used in this dissertation is a conventional transliteration of Russian letters into phonetics. Where a document title, author's name, music manuscript or any other description has been imported into this dissertation, the acquired transliteration has remained intact. Translations of foreign titles and texts are normally provided after the first occurrence of a title unless the work is sufficiently well known.

All imported quotes have retained their original grammar or incorrect spellings.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations have been given to the instruments of the major sections of domras and balalaikas in the balalaika orchestra. These are:

PiccD	piccolo domra
PD	prima domra
MSD	mezzo soprano domra
AD	alto domra
TD	tenor domra
BD	bass domra
CBD	contrabass domra
PB	prima balalaika
SB	secunda balalaika
AB	alto balalaika
BB	bass balalaika
CB or CBB or KB	contrabass balalaika
BDAA	Balalaika and Domra Association of America
EC + number	Ethnic collection number given to each manuscript by University of Illinois Music Library for shelf location. This EC number is also linked to similar numbers in the 'Preliminary Checklist and Index of Ensemble Music in the Walter J. Kasura Collection of Russian Folk Music.' Urbana Illinois Music Library. University of Illinois, 1994
KC + number	Kutin collection number (number only – letters given by Martin Kiszko) given by Alexander Kutin to scores and corresponding lists of works in his catalogue of repertoire (handwritten and undated)

Few people in Texas know what a balalaika is.
Most think it is a type of Greek pastry!

Letter to Walter Kasura from Paul E. Phillips, Houston Balalaika Society,
2 July 1979, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois

INTRODUCTION

In 1912 my father Nikodem Kiszko (1912-1996) was born in Zarudzie (plate 1), a small hamlet in the Vitebsk region of the Russian Empire known since 1991 as the Republic of Belarus (figure 1). As a boy Nikodem built his own instruments, including simple balalaikas and learnt to play the piano accordion - the family of four boys and three girls were extremely musical. The brothers Nikodem, Edward, Fabian and Victor formed an instrumental group including violin, balalaikas, accordion and often guitar. They performed traditional folk melodies or original compositions at weddings, dances and other village entertainments in the region.

It is not surprising that from 1945 as an emigré in Britain, Nikodem transported the music that had so fashioned his early years. During my childhood he regularly played me the songs of his youth as well as the dances with which he became familiar in the post-war era. As he performed them on guitar, mandolin or piano accordion, I often wondered from where these folk songs and dances originated and why they were of such significance to him.

Questions about my own musical roots accelerated as I began a professional career as a film composer in 1983. It wasn't until 1991, however, with the commission to compose and orchestrate the score for the BBC television documentary series *Realms of the Russian Bear* for the BBC Natural History Unit, that I became fully aware of returning to and drawing upon the genres of music learnt from my father during childhood. As these roots surfaced I realised I wished to discover more about the musics of my ancestral homeland. Much had been written in the past about the vocal music of the former USSR but little on the origins and roles of instrumental music, largely due to prohibition of native folk instruments by the religious authorities in Russia. With this aim in mind I set myself the task of expanding my knowledge of native Russian folk instruments and music.

This dissertation is the result of initial field-work which commenced in Moscow in 1991 with the co-operation of the Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture, Evgenia Andreyeva and Boleslav Rabinovitch of the Folklore Department of the Union of Composers. The aim of the research was to collate and compile a reference encyclopedia of around one thousand autochthonous instruments of the Commonwealth of Independent

Plate 1

Part of the Kiszko ancestral home at Zarudzie, Belarus photographed by Martin Kiszko

Figure 1

Map of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

States (CIS) which could be used to explore the role of native instruments in Russian folk music and later their influence on Russian art music. The approach to this task was multi-faceted. In Moscow I interviewed instrumentalists who were specialists in the field of native folk instruments. Where possible I recorded these instruments and established range, tuning, repertoire, geographical origins and physical dimensions.

I also provided a visual record of each instrumentalist. Each player was photographed and permission was granted for the photographing of the cabinets of native folk instruments at the Glinka Central Museum of Musical Culture. Overall, this provided an illustrated catalogue of all the known indigenous instruments of the CIS. On collating the data I was greatly assisted by the definitive work on native folk instruments, the *Atlas Muzikalnich Instrumentov Narodov CCCP* (*Atlas of Musical Instruments of the Peoples Inhabiting the U.S.S.R.*)[1]

Using both the *Atlas* and my own research I pursued a cut-and-paste approach in building an encyclopedic work that would cross reference instruments to entries in other works. The fundamental problem, however, was to determine how these instruments might be known to us in the West. This task required the transliteration of the Russian instrument names into English and once this was achieved I was interested to discover exactly how many of the terms might be found in dictionaries and encyclopedias of the West. Remarkably, only the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*[2] contained a significant number of references to Russian folk instruments and by no means all of them. Next I incorporated those descriptions of instruments from the *New Grove* into the cut-and-paste encyclopedia. This provided me with a four-volume work containing the instruments of every former republic thereby facilitating cross references to both the *New Grove* and the *Atlas*.

During the preparation of this material and subsequent to a further field trip to Belarus in 1992 to record traditional music, I came to realise that a comprehensive study of native instruments hitherto unexplored by researchers in the West would be of value. This emphasis on the mainly unknown instruments prompted a rejection of the most popularly discussed Russian instruments such as the domra, balalaika and bayan since these had been covered adequately by many Russian musicologists. In the course, however, of collecting information on folk instruments I became aware of the fact that the Russian folk instrument known as the balalaika had gained its particular popularity vogue by its capacity to

permeate geographical regions well beyond Moscow, its environs, and in some form or another had appeared in many of the former republics of the USSR. Such a widespread dissemination of an instrument tempted my curiosity and I sought to discover from Russian documents how such a journey of one instrument took place. Further research indicated that although documents on the balalaika had been published in Russia throughout the twentieth century, the subject was notable in the West for the remarkable absence of research or literature. Indeed the one paper specifically on the instrument was written by Algernon Rose and published in the *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 11 December 1900. Although my initial research had begun in the area of native music of the CIS, with an emphasis on collating a comprehensive listing and classification of folk instruments, it was the balalaika, the best known instrument of Russia in the West, that still had some intriguing and difficult questions left unanswered. One major challenge of these questions was particularly in the area of the discussion of the origins of the instrument and this prompted my paper *The Balalaika - A Reappraisal.*[3]

Following the research associated with origins and the successful dissemination, professionalisation and popularisation of the balalaika, the next major question that required attention was that of the transcontinental migration of the instrument. My first attempts to address this question took me to the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana USA to meet Professor John Garvey, the University of Illinois Russian Folk Orchestra, and Bruce Wood of the Balalaika and Domra Association of America. In the special collections of the music library at the University of Illinois I was able to assess the size of the archives of Russian and Russian-American music known as the Kasura collection and the Kutin collection. I wished to determine whether the archive, still at that time in the process of cataloguing, would be ready for examination. Furthermore a visit to Los Angeles also took place in 1993 to visit the emigré balalaikist Emanuil Sheynkman (1939-1995).

Again in 1994 I returned to Champaign-Urbana this time as a successful applicant on the Illinois Summer Research Laboratory on Russia and Eastern Europe. This was a formative time in which I explored the subject of the first Russian emigré musicians and I attempted to determine the direction this study would pursue. As well as meeting academics, directors, conductors and performers at the University of Illinois, I was specifically drawn to the issues of the growth of Russian-American orchestras through the examination of the Walter J. Kasura Collection of Russian Folk Music and the Alexander Kutin Collection of

Russian Folk Music. At the time of my visit the final stages of the cataloguing of instrumental parts was in progress. As well as beginning the search for manuscripts in the special collection, I also worked my way through the boxes of uncatalogued documents which included many of Kasura's draft articles, drafts of books, letters, sketches and programme notes. It was obvious to me at this stage that both collections could offer an insight into the development of the balalaika orchestra, repertoire, performers, venues and concert programmes in America during the twentieth century. Using the collections I progressed with the collation of data which would enable, for the first time, a proper study of the aforementioned subjects. Central to the investigation of the material was the question of whether the new Russian-American ensembles had assimilated their Russian folk music arrangements into American music or adhered to traditional renditions.

The collection of data led firstly to an examination of the balalaika, held in Western musical consciousness as the foremost 'typically Russian' musical instrument. To understand the exportable aspects of the balalaika it was first necessary to chart the cultural and historical role of the instrument, its geographical distribution, its construction and improvement, the traditional playing techniques and the social aspects of its diversification into amateur and professional musical life. Of primary importance, however, was the controversy which surrounded the ancestry and emergence of this instrument and which has become an essential component in the building of a definitive profile of the instrument for organographical purposes.

ENDNOTES

[1] Vertkov, K., Blagodatov, G., Yazovitskaya, E. *Atlas Muzikalnich Instrumentov Narodov CCCP (Atlas of Musical Instruments of the Peoples Inhabiting the USSR).* State Publishers Music. Moscow 1963, rep.1975

[2] The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Ed. Stanley Sadie, London, Macmillan, 1980

[3] Kiszko, M.E. 'The Balalaika – A Reappraisal'. *The Galpin Society Journal.* March 1995, XLVIII, pp.130-155

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF THE BALALAIKA IN RUSSIAN CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

The balalaika (plate 2) occupies a prime position in the history of the folk and art instrumental music of the former USSR now known as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Within one hundred years from its beginnings as a scarcely known instrument, it became the most popular instrument in Russia and its republics. In a country whose land mass covers one sixth of the earth's surface and spans eleven time zones, it was no mean feat for the balalaika to pervade all strata of the country's 272 million people. Not only was instruction given at all levels of musical education during the Soviet period (1917-1991) but during its vogue in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the extent of its popularity in both folk instrumental music and professional art music made it the most democratically accessible instrument of its age and of subsequent times. In 1780 J.B. Laborde wrote:

> One finds this instrument in all Russian houses, there is hardly a peasant who doesn't know how to play one a little.[1]

A study of the balalaika, however, must first place the instrument in the context of the history of Russian musical instruments and the historical geography of the CIS. Usually, the balalaika is placed at the end of a lineage of popular Russian instruments shared by the Russians, Ukrainians and Belarussians (known as Eastern Slavs) who formed the single state of Kiev Rus. Some of these instruments (gusli, gudok, truba, rog, dudka, sopel, svirel, trumpets, horns and tamborines) were adopted as favourite instruments of the *skomorokhis* - itinerant minstrels and actors. Beginning with the gusli (eleventh to sixteenth centuries) and subsequently the gudok (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), later replaced with the domra, it is believed the *skomorokhis* acquired the balalaika (mostly in a two-stringed form) to supersede the domra in the eighteenth century.

By the 1880s the 'improved' balalaika created by Vasily V. Andreyev (1861-1918) became the cornerstone on which a family of balalaikas (piccolo, prima, secunda, alto, bass, contrabass) was constructed. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, orchestras of

Plate 2

A prima balalaika, photographed by Martin Kiszko

Russian folk instruments, including families of balalaikas, became the focus of instrumental performances.

THE QUESTION OF ORIGIN

When and by whom was the balalaika invented ... no one knows.[2]

To formulate any kind of conclusion about the origins of the balalaika, it is necessary to examine records of the appearance of the balalaika (in whatever form it may have appeared), alongside theories of its family origins, birthplace in historical geography, and etymology associated with the naming of the instrument. At times, research drawn from one of these areas corroborates the others. Often, however, there is conflict between them.

The discussions of the inconsistency of documents and theories about the balalaika have fuelled much speculation on the instrument's origin amongst commentators. Musicologists have found it difficult to define precisely how, and from which family of instruments it emerged. In addition, the recondite history of the balalaika is also hampered by the fact that in the Middle Ages Russian Orthodoxy rejected and attempted to eradicate folk musical instruments. During the seventeenth century, for example, there are records of a single occasion when five carriages of musical instruments were burnt on the banks of the Moskva river.[3]

It is possible, however, to examine some of the intriguing and somewhat controversial attempts, both contemporary and past, which may assist theories of the balalaika's origin. Historians and musicologists have struggled with the instrument's ancestry and have variously placed its roots in the long-necked lute, the guitar, the dombra, the tanbur, the pandoura, the gudok, the domra and the psaltery. There are even other speculative notions that may deserve attention. In a discussion on the origin of the triangular shape of the balalaika, Algernon Rose (F.R.G.S.) suggests:

Maybe, the shape was after all, merely adopted for the sake of convenience.[4]

There is an implication here that the balalaika in its triangular-bodied form may have emerged as a brand new instrument, independent of evolution from any ancestor or forerunner. To substantiate such an hypothesis, it would be necessary to assert that the

triangular form was one of the simplest shapes from which one could construct an instrument that could be easily self-built in the home.

The earliest appearance of the balalaika recorded in literature may be found in a recently discovered document dated 1688.[5] The document tells of the arrest of townsman Savka Fyodorov and a peasant Ivashka Dmitriyev for 'playing the balalaika and singing in the street'. A vital reference for the appearance of the instrument in professional life may be found in the descriptions of a grand event organised by Peter the Great in 1715. The musicians Ivan Stroyev, Ivan Streshnev, Mikhailo Golenishchev and Prince Obolensky provided balalaika entertainment for the wedding of privy councillor Nikita Moisyeevich Zotov. The wedding ceremony included a grandiose procession of costumed peoples bearing musical instruments most characteristic of their homelands within the Russian empire.[6]

It is commonly asserted, however, that the balalaika found its first instrumental role as an accompanying instrument to dance. This supports a general view that references marking the first appearance of the balalaika can be found in the lyrics of dance songs (*chastushki*) in the early eighteenth century. In one of the earliest *Khorovod* dance songs of the Kazanskoi region the references to rebecs as well as balalaikas would, according to Sokolov, place the song and therefore the balalaika's appearance at the beginning of the eighteenth century. An early eighteenth-century appearance, however, is not without contention. There is the question of whether the balalaika appeared in its triangular-bodied form or in a form that pre-dated its accepted emergence. The issue of the morphological development of the balalaika from an earlier instrument, triangular or not, will be discussed later in this chapter. Perhaps any conjecture on the appearance of the balalaika before 1688 can be supported by the evidence of etymological discussion. Algernon Rose opens the debate of first appearance with the question of whether the instrument was indigenous or imported:

> A stranger in Russia, on seeing the balalaika for the first time, naturally concludes that its derivation was from the East. But the Russian warmly contends that its origin was not Tatar.[7]

One strand of etymological evidence for a pre-1688 appearance of the balalaika from Russian or Tatar sources lies in F. Sokolov's reference to the research of A. Famyintsin who suggested that the word balalaika may have its root in the Tatar language.[8] The tenet of this

theory may be summarised as follows; the Tatars have a word *bala* meaning baby or whelp. This in turn may have formed the root of such words as *balakat*, *balabonyit* and *balaguryit*, which are words referring to children's 'chattering'. Sokolov points out that the Tatar word *balalar* means 'children' in Russian and if the Russian suffix *ka* is added to this, the result is *balalarka* - close to balalaika. Other etymological sources may assist in verifying the first use of balalaika. Algernon Rose's investigation of Tauchnitz's *Russian Dictionary* gives the possible roots; *balakery*, a buffoon, from the verb *balachooret*, and *balakanne* meaning to gossip or chat. Additional words found in Alexandrow's dictionary are: *balagoor*, a merry-andrew; *balalaechka*, the diminutive of balalaika; and *balaganschick*, a showman (from the root *balovat*, to play the fool). Rose[9] accepts these definitions as significant evidence to point towards the connection of the instrument to the Russian *pierrot* or *skomorokh*:

> Thus it is evident that the balalaika was the chosen instrument of the Russian *pierrot*. Its triangular shape represents his conical hat.

If we accept Rose's notion of a Tatar based origin on the premise of etymological findings, the balalaika's first appearance may be more correctly placed up to four hundred years earlier than the first literature references. Could the early *skomorokhi* have used a balalaika and could it have been introduced via Tatar invasions in the thirteenth century? Perhaps a combination of both possibilities occurred. The writer M. Byelyayev, however, discredits such theories:

> Our early written resources don't give information about the existence of the balalaika or domra in Russia in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. These instruments only received widespread dissemination in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[10]

The discussion of origin may be taken a step further once a classification of the instrument is determined. Generally accepted as a chordophone, the balalaika has perplexing ambiguities for the musicologist. In the light of theories proposing an appearance some time between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is worth examining possible family ties between the balalaika and other ancient chordophones (plates of ancient chordophones found across the regions of the CIS are included in Appendix Two of this dissertation).[11]

Naturally, the balalaika's triangular form may have influences found in ancient instruments such as the triangular psaltery, the Egyptian trigonon or the Assyrian lyre (plate 3). Such a

Plate 3

Examples of Assyrian lyres depicted in reliefs at the British Museum. Detail from prisoners playing lyres 400-602 B.C. from Ninevah SW Palace, three musicians are marched under escort through mountainous country, photographed by Martin Kiszko

connection, however, places the balalaika into the zither or harp family and consequently requires an elaborate theory proposing that the psaltery simply acquired a neck and lost a number of strings. To embroider this idea, the Russian helmet-shaped gusli - a type of psaltery popular in Russia since the eleventh century - would have required the same transformation of form to become a balalaika.

Tenuous links to other early Russian folk instruments require more detailed investigation. One example is the gudok, a bowed three-stringed instrument tuned in fourths and fifths with a short neck and pear-shaped body. Constructed between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (and discovered only in the Novgorod archeological excavations between 1951 and 1962), the gudok, according to Vertkov's *Atlas*,[12] was a popular instrument of the *skomorokhi* who used it for solo and ensemble performances as well as an accompanying instrument to the voice. The instrument disappeared from use by the end of the fourteenth century and only reconstructions based on pictorial evidence are extant. The shape, however, and the number of strings share resemblances to not only the early pear-shaped balalaikas, but other balalaika relatives: the dombra and the domra. Alongside the morphological similarities, the fact that the gudok (like the balalaika and the domra) had a special place in the musical life of the *skomorokhi*, may help to lift its family link out of the realms of spurious speculation.

The balalaika as a species of guitar is a common definition given in many textbooks and dictionaries.[13] It appears that these definitions rely on the acceptance of variations in morphology and performing practice conventionally associated with the guitar. Once these variants are deemed probable, they may suggest the balalaika was a development of the European guitar and so place its ancestry among short-necked lutes. Perhaps these speculative definitions have been formulated with the features of the Renaissance guitar in mind: the fretted neck, the 'guitar-like' head or the curved back. Even the plucked manner of playing and the popularity of the balalaika as an accompaniment to the voice seem to contribute to the notion of the guitar as forerunner of the balalaika.

Speculative theories based on the Arabian origin of the guitar (later introduced into medieval Europe by the Arabs) aim to support another hypothesis: that the balalaika and the guitar had distinct ancestral relationships to the long-necked lutes of Arabia and Persia.[14]

Whether the 'Russian guitar' is indeed an accurate description of the balalaika needs to be contested. Some of its features and the manner of playing might be equally applied to oriental lutes. Perhaps the only remarkable similarity is that of the shape of the head and possibly the curved back. According to this writer, this cannot be used as conclusive evidence for describing the balalaika as a member of, or relation to, the guitar family. The possibility of the ancient long-necked lute (and its oriental relatives) as a potential parent must now be examined.

The long-necked lute may be traced back pictorially to the third millennium B.C. with the first representations on Akkadian cylinder-seals. As well as its use by the Sumerians, long-necked lutes were also used in Western Asia in the second millennium B.C. by Hittites, Elamites, Assyrians and Persians.[15] One theory held by musicologists[16] places balalaika ancestry in the ancient long-necked lute and subsequently connects it to other close relatives such as the Arabian tanbur, the Greek and Roman pandoura, the Persian tar, and the Kazakh and Kirghiz dombra:

> Descendants are nearly all fretted and many are strung with wire: thus the Greek bouzouki and tambora; the popular tamboritsa of the Slavonic Balkans; the balalaika (with its unique triangular shape of soundbox); and numerous forms over Central Asia ... [17]

The similarities of the balalaika to the long-necked lute and its relatives are evident in the long stick-like neck and the fact that the pear-shaped body (though the lute had a skin belly) of the early balalaika was typical of the body shape of long-necked lutes. Another common factor was the number of strings (two or three) which may suggest a particular migratory route for the balalaika:

> The fact mentioned by Galpin (1937, p.35) that the balalaika originally had two strings (instead of the present three) suggests yet another line of migration of a Central Asian ikitelli-type of long-necked lute. The Atlas U.S.S.R.. shows that at least five Turkic peoples of Central Asia (Turkmen, Uzbek, Karakalpak, Kazakh and Uygur) still have two-stringed long-necked bowl-lutes known variously as dutar, dotar, (= two strings), dombrak or dombra. Such lutes are also in use among the Tajiks.[18]

The further significance of any relationship between the balalaika and the long-necked lute may be drawn from an investigation of several aforementioned relatives; tanbur, pandoura

and dombra.

The tanbur,[19] (in Arabic meaning long lute) of Babylonia and Egypt had similar features to those already mentioned; a long neck, pear-shaped body, and a few strings. Curt Sachs denotes two origins for this kind of lute (based on the placement of the pegs). First, a long lute bearing a mixture of pegs from Arabo-Persian areas (lateral pegs) and Turkish areas (rear pegs). The Arabs know the instrument as tanbur but the Persians use the word 'tar' prefixed with a number.[20] This description of types of long lute bears some resemblance to the two or three-stringed early balalaika. Similar resemblances are also evident in the lute of the Greeks and Romans - pandoura. It had a long neck without pegs, a small body, frets, and three strings. The Hellenes therefore called it by the Greek name trichordon (three-stringed) as well as by its foreign name pandoura. Anthony Baines remarks that:

> The pandoura or long-necked lute remains a popular instrument from Persia to the Balkans (tamboritsa) with metal strings played as much as possible altogether and reiterated in a cheerful mandolin-like manner. The balalaika and the Greek buzuki are related to it.[21]

The obvious question of whether there existed an ancient balalaika with the appearance of the Arabian tanbur or the Greek/Roman pandoura is difficult to ascertain. John Ogilvie's 1897 description of the balalaika, however, suggests that such an instrument, in some form or another, was seen in Egypt:

> A musical instrument of very ancient Slavonian origin, common among the Russians and the Tatars, and, according to Niebuhr, also in Egypt and Arabia.[22]

If Niebuhr did see a balalaika in Egypt, one must assume he recognised it as such since presumably he had seen one already in one of the Russian republics. There is, unfortunately, no record of such a sighting. Conversely, if what he actually called a balalaika was in fact a tanbur, one must assume that Niebuhr had previously seen an instrument in one of the Russian republics which was in fact a tanbur (or a version of a tanbur) but was named balalaika. Although Ogilvie's dictionary categorically states that Niebuhr saw the balalaika in Egypt and Arabia, M. Niebuhr's *Travels through Arabia and other countries in the East* (1799) gives no mention of the instrument:

Several of them [instruments] are likewise common among the isles in the Archipelago; as are also three different sorts, with three or four wires, called by the Greeks, Icitali, Semari, and Baglama; and by the Arabians distinguished by the generic name of Tambura which is common to all musical instruments with wires.[23]

Similarly, other commentators place the balalaika as a descendant, along with the Greek bouzouki, tambura, and Balkan tamboritsa, of the long-necked lute.

DOMBRAS AND DOMRAS - THE QUESTION OF ANCESTRY

The relationship of the balalaika to the variant of long lute known as the dombra (plate 4) is for some commentators perhaps one of the closest of family connections. Primarily, the dombra was and is known as the instrument of the peoples of the Southern areas of the CIS. The dombra of the Kazakh peoples and the similar Kirghiz komuz is usually a two-stringed long-necked lute. The Western dombra of the Kazakhs is pear-shaped with fourteen frets while the Eastern model has a spade-shaped or triangular body and seven or eight frets. The Kalmyk peoples also have a dombra and the Bashkirs and Tatars had a similar instrument, the dumbra, which according to Vertkov,[24] is now almost obsolete. The Uzbeks of Southern Uzbekistan also have a two-stringed unfretted lute which is known as dumbrak. These links between the balalaika and dombra are based mainly on similarities of form, number of strings and playing technique. There is indeed some evidence that the early two-stringed balalaika based on the dombra is extant:

The older instruments had but two strings, augmented - probably in the nineteenth century - to three strings. However, the Kamchadal of northeastern Siberia still play the two-stringed version and Buryat hunters - also of Siberia - sing and play the balalaika to forest spirits who are fond of music and show their gratitude by assisting huntsmen to catch many squirrels and sables.[25]

Curt Sachs too, asserts that the triangular balalaika has close relatives, specifically to the dombra of the modern Kirghizes:

The closest relative of this lute is the oval dombra of the modern Kirghizes, which again is a close relative of the Russian triangular balalaika.[26]

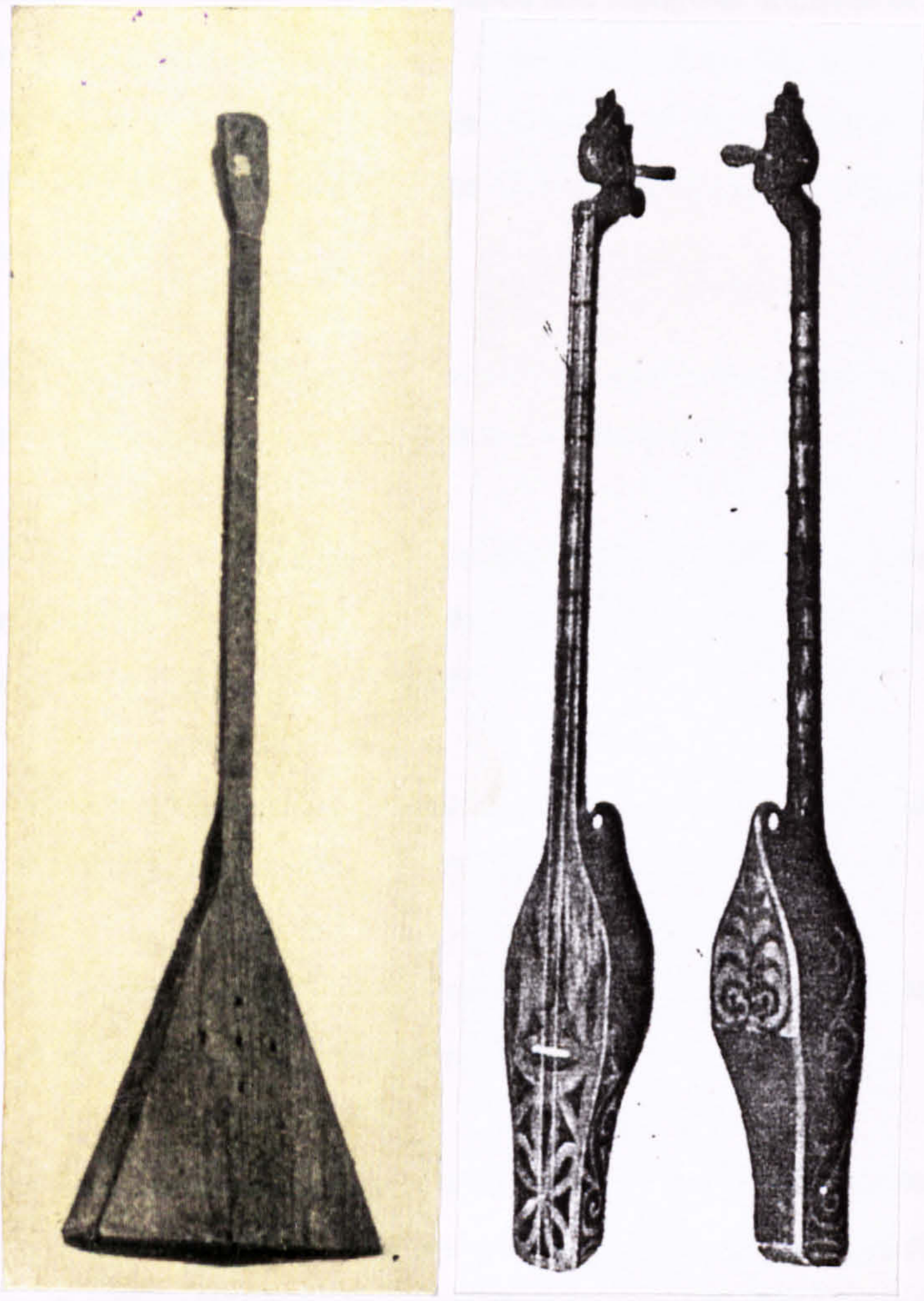

Plate 4

Ancient balalaika and dombra from F.V. Solokov's *Russkaya Narodnaya Balalaika*, Moscow 1962, p.4 and K. Vertkov's *Atlas of Musical Instruments of the Peoples Inhabiting the U.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1962, plate 678

Although Sachs describes the shape of the dombra as oval, this is contrary to his descriptions of morphology in the 1913 and 1964 editions of his *Real-Lexicon der Musikinstrumente* where the dombra is described as triangular.[27] Perhaps the definition should be understood in the light of Sachs' footnote of source - von Hornbostel in R. Karutz's, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen* (1911) - which indicates regions where the triangular dombra might be found. Checked against dombra types in the Vertkov *Atlas*,[28] there are oval shaped Turkmen dutars, the pear-shaped komuz of the Kirghizes, oval and triangular dombras of the Kazakh and pear-shaped and triangular dombras of the Kalmyk. The closest instrument to Sachs' cited oval dombra would be the Kirghiz pear-shaped komuz and references to the actual triangular dombras of the Kalmyk and Kazakh are omitted by Sachs. Sibyl Marcuse, however, corroborates the Kazakh and Kalmyk triangular instruments under dombra:

> ... Among the Kazak and the Volga Kalmuck, as well as in Mongolia, they [dombras] have triangular bodies and narrow, elongated necks with movable frets and two strings.[29]

A further comment on the relationship between the dombra and balalaika is made by Cyril G.E. Bunt. He, however, remarks that the balalaika was derived from the Kirghiz dumbra and that the shape of the instrument was round:

> The balalaika is said to be a development from the Kirghis dumbra, a somewhat similar instrument which, however, had a round body and was played with a plectrum.[30]

One may only deduce that variations of commentators' descriptions of body shape are based on subjective and sometimes inaccurate uses of 'oval' and 'round'.

The geographical source of the dombra may assist in establishing a close relationship to the balalaika. It is in close enough proximity to suggest an influence on balalaika makers of the former Russian republics. There is, however, the question of what kind of transitional instrument may have completed the chain. The most natural 'missing link' here is the domra often described as an immediate predecessor to the balalaika.[31]

These transitional elements; dombra, domra, balalaika, have been explored and elaborated

on by several commentators including Gerald Seaman:

It seems that the domra (which was played with a plectrum) was acquired by the Skomorokhi from the Asiatic nomads during their occupation of Russia. Instruments of a similar type and even nomenclature (eg. dumbra, domr) are found among Asiatic peoples even at the present day.[32]

Anthony Baines places the balalaika as a well developed form of the domra specifically in the eighteenth century:

The balalaika is an eighteenth-century modification of the older, round bodied Russian domra which has been regarded as another member of the long lute family.[33]

Baines, however, in a recent definition of the balalaika omits the reference to a probable modification of the domra.[34]

The debate surrounding the disappearance of the domra and the appearance of the balalaika is as perplexing as the aforementioned hypotheses on origin. It is commonly believed that the domra disappeared around the turn of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries and that the balalaika appeared at around the same time. This appears to supply circumstantial evidence to support the theory of transition. In particular, this thesis is ratified by the Russian musicologist A. Famyintsin who argued on the basis of literary research that the balalaika was none other than a modification of the domra. Furthermore he also believed that the transition must have occurred sometime around the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Famyintsin's research is largely supported by the fact that he discovered references to the domra in seventeenth century literature, but not to the balalaika. Conversely he found references to the balalaika in eighteenth century literature but no mention of the domra.[35] Subsequently, Famyintsin declared that he was of the opinion that amateur and professional musicians alike altered the morphology of their instruments from the tanburesque rounded bodies of the domra to a triangular form to aid simple construction techniques.[36]

Like Famyintsin, the musicologist N. Privalov (1868-1928) also noted that the domra, among other instruments, had disappeared from musical life at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This, he believed, was as a result of the harsh measures of the Moscow clergy and government to eradicate folk instruments. Privalov's stance is based on

his conjecture that the domra was not forgotten by the Russian people - it simply became a latent instrument which then acquired different names (almost like the instrument going 'underground' and assuming a different identity). As a result of this, Privalov argued that somehow the instrument's form was also expected to change. It is not clear whether, like Famyintsin, he regarded this metamorphosis as an evolution of the instrument's shape or whether it was a deliberate attempt to create a new shape and therefore a new instrument. One may conclude, however, that the 'new name' thesis which evolved the final name balalaika which in turn bred the simple triangular balalaika is, according to F.V. Sokolov among others, unconvincing.[37]

The final, though inconclusive word on the subject of transition, may be given to the standard text on folk instruments of the CIS, the Vertkov *Atlas*. Although the *Atlas* describes the domra as a 'plucked instrument of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', it points out that no accurate description, specimen or picture of the instrument is preserved. Consequently the debate is left open. Was the balalaika the obvious natural transition from the domra manufactured in a triangular form for easy home assemblage? Was it simply a version of the domra with a new name? Or was the balalaika a completely new instrument which dramatically supplanted the domra in popularity? Perhaps the transition was helped by cultural influences and clues may be found in the design and architecture of Russia. As early as the twelfth century architects attempted to adapt imported Byzantine forms to their own requirements. Architects transformed the flat spherical Byzantine dome into a bulb-shaped cupola. In the sixteenth century this cupola was superseded by the tent-shaped roof. It is not beyond the realms of speculation to consider that the influence of a myriad of triangular constructions in the environment led the balalaika maker's eye to similar adaptations of the rounded domra (plates 5, 6 and 7).

BALALAIKA CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES

The construction of the early pear-shaped balalaikas at the beginning of the eighteenth-century is beyond the scope of this chapter. The type of instrument that will be described here is the traditional triangular bodied balalaika (plates 8 to 15).

The instrument today is usually made in six different sizes: piccolo, prima, secunda, alto, bass, and contra–bass. The most popular size used is the prima balalaika and

Plate 5

Lithograph depicting village entertainments at the beginning of the nineteenth century featuring the balalaika. From *Souvenirs de Saint-Petersbourg*. Collection of 38 lithographies, Saint Petersburg 1825, Vol.17. Reprinted in F.V. Sokolov's *Russkaya Narodnaya Balalaika,* Moscow 1962, p.5

Plate 6

Illustration depicting village entertainments at the beginning of the nineteenth century featuring the balalaika. From M. Uchpedgiye's *Russkii Folklor,* 1941, p.396. Reprinted in F.V. Sokolov's *Russkaya Narodnaya Balalaika,* Moscow 1962, p.5

Plate 7

View of a terrace of the Kremlin courtyard. Colour aquatint from Roberta Bayera's album *A Portrayal of Current affairs in European and World History 1812,1813,1814,1815,* London 1815. Collection of P.S. Romanova

Plate 8

Prima balalaika. Front view. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

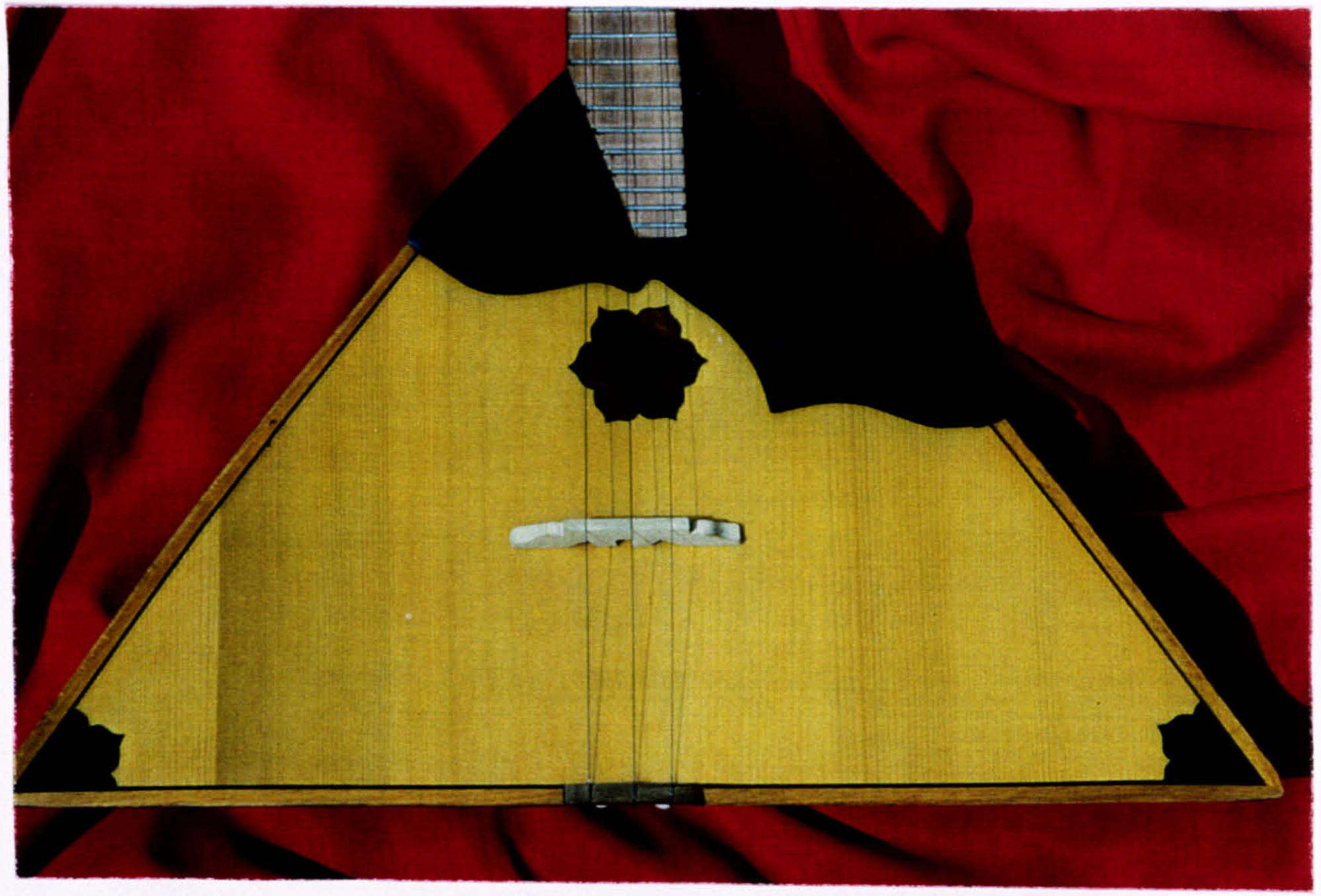

Plate 9

Prima balalaika. Front view. Detail of soundboard and scratchplate. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

Plate 10

Prima balalaika. Rear view. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

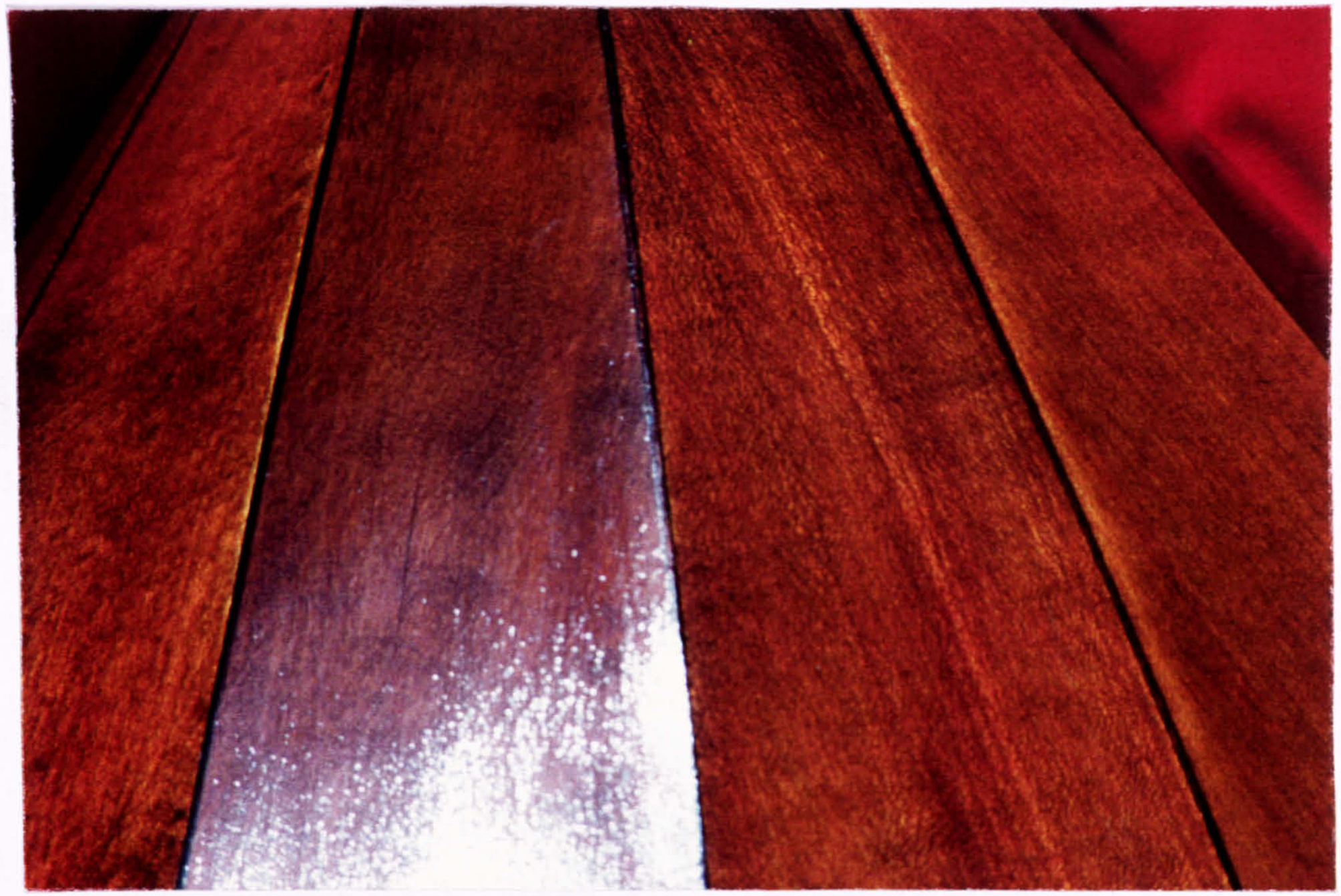

Plate 11

Prima balalaika. Rear view. Detail of back. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

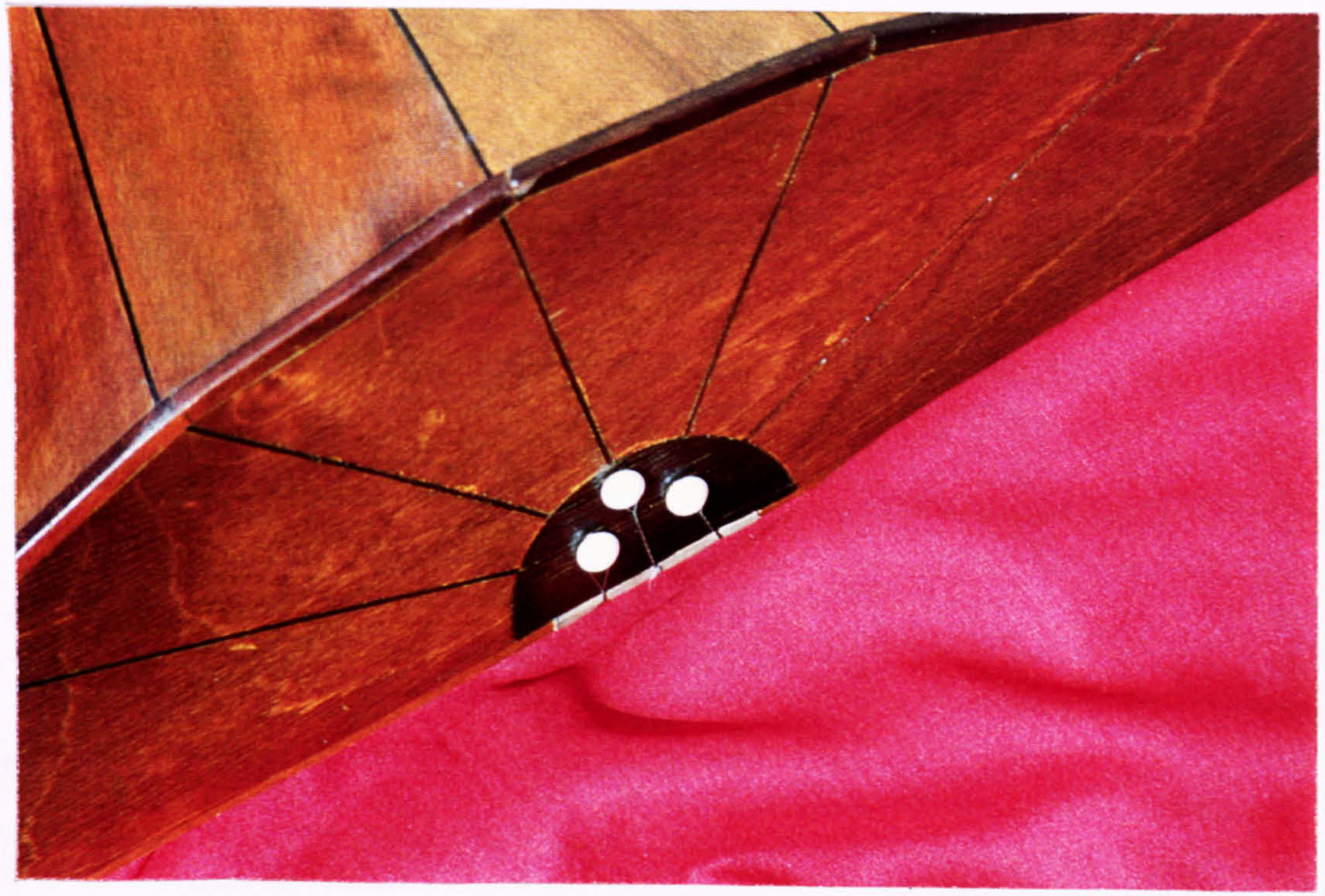

Plate 12

Prima balalaika. Baseboard with lower ridge and nuts. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

Plate 13

Prima balalaika. Detail of soundhole, bridge and strings. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

Plate 14

Prima balalaika. Detail of soundboard corner. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

Plate 15

Prima balalaika. Detail of head, tuning pegs, neck and fingerboard. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

it is this which will provide the model for a description of balalaika construction.

The typical instrument has a soundboard or belly usually made from four strips of Russian spruce (*Picea abies*) or Russian silver fir (*Abies albi*), both timbers are from the *Pinaceae* family. Both trees grow throughout the mountainous regions of Central and Southern Europe, the best developments being found in the Carpathian mountains. The timbers are similar in appearance but the silver fir is slightly less lustrous, being white to paleish yellowish-brown in colour. As wood has hygroscopic properties, the selected timber is usually selected from the centre of the tree (heartwood), thus minimising the rate of shrinkage as the timber brings its moisture content in line with the relative humidity of the air. The timbers dry rapidly and well but knots are prone to loosen and split. The use of these woods, apart from their plentiful availability, serves balalaika construction well since the timber works easily with both machine and hand tools and a smooth clean finish may be obtained from it. It is able to take stain, paint and varnish satisfactorily and it glues, nails and screws well. Equally, to assist simple self assembly, the choice of timber for the soundboard may be selected from woods other than spruce or silver fir. Balalaikas have been made with bellies of bird's-eye maple for instance, though this is partly for decorative effect.

In the description of construction techniques given by Algernon Rose, seven pieces of plain maple are used to form the belly and are glued together in a mould or matrix somewhat similar to the way in which a mandolin is made.[38] Using this model, the author may be emphasising the use of plain maple (a less superior wood) to illustrate the basic materials from which a balalaika could be constructed.[39]

Once the woods are selected for the instrument, the construction method may utilise an elaborate mould for the sound chamber or use a 'dummy' soundboard onto which the first sections of baseboard and shoulder block are attached. The latter technique, used by balalaika maker William Prince,[40] is the one which I shall describe. Two pieces of pine side linings are bent to the curve of the sides of the dummy soundboard. These fit exactly between the baseboard and shoulder block. The back ribs are then prepared (by a soaking in water) before they are bent and set in place. In placing the outer ribs the construction must be screwed through part of the dummy soundboard to a firm board. The other ribs are then added and the supporting board is removed before fitting the inner pair of ribs. On

well made instruments, the back of the balalaika comprised of three pairs of back ribs, is usually fluted and purfled.[41] The function of purfling is twofold. First it prevents cracks in the spruce soundboard from spreading to the edge of the instrument thus leading to possible structural faults (this problem is more common with spruce backs rather than those made of maple since maple is a more homogeneous timber which is less prone to splitting). Second, purfling provides a decorative effect which often matches aesthetic details on the front of the instrument. The usual technique employed is for three strips (pairs) of wood to be glued together. The two outer strips are conventionally pear wood stained black to imitate ebony which is still sometimes used (a black fibre product is more common these days). The inner strip is normally a white wood such as maple or holly. The overall weight and pressure of the back can be reduced by fluting the ribs. This gives a slight concavity to the ribs thus easing the load of the back and in addition renders the instrument more aesthetically pleasing.

The attachment of the back is connected to a flat bottom piece, the baseboard (often with base ribs), and usually consists of half-inch thick maple which carries the major strain of the instrument. The baseboard normally rests on the right arm of the player and meets the belly of the instrument at an acute angle.[42] Algernon Rose points out that the use of pegs to secure the structure of the instrument was a common construction technique in preference to using glue, which would respond unfavourably to climactic conditions. It is also possible that pegs were used because they provided a simple method for joins following methods already used for 'dry jointing' medieval furniture. At the point that the base ribs of the baseboard are glued into place, the dummy soundboard and temporary support buttress are removed. Protective edge pieces of hardwood are placed at the join between the base and back ribs.

Attention to the neck unit is the next major task which includes the fitting of machine heads, the fingerboard, the gluing together of the headpiece and neck, and at the opposite end, the gluing on of the underside of the neck. Connecting to the soundboard, the neck of the balalaika is usually made from pine or mahogany on a superior instrument. On the neck, the fingerboard is often made from ebony and is fretted with silver wire or similar. The frets are commonly of fixed single metal bars and vary in number according to the size of the instrument.[43] It is worth noting that the balalaika that Algernon Rose saw on his visit

to St. Petersburg in 1899 was fretted with thick silver wire in contrast to the three-fretted peasants' instrument which was fretted with string tightly bound around the neck. This observation became significant for Rose since neither he nor the musicians in St. Petersburg had come across the types of balalaika frets defined in *Grove* as 'coloured lines that serve for frets'.[44] Since there is a significant lack of evidence about such fretted balalaikas one must assume that if such instruments are extant they may only be found in isolated areas or in isolated rural communities of the CIS.

To support the soundboard, struts are laid across the sound chamber into recesses in the side lining upper edges. The timber sections of the soundboard are then glued together, the soundhole made and the board then cut to final shape allowing for protective edging to be incorporated on each of its three sides. The soundhole of the instrument is approximately 2cms in diameter and is commonly quite plain in decoration. Some balalaikas have soundholes in the form of stars, perforated discs or add an inlay which resembles a Russian chalet, the window of which is perforated. The inlay may be made from mahogany, ebony and mother of pearl as well as using Polish silver as a rim. The decorative effect of the soundhole was often elaborated upon and resulted in the decoration of the whole remaining area of the soundboard.

Finally, the soundboard is mounted on the sound chamber. This belly, which can be occasionally slightly arched,[45] is usually strengthened with a piece of black veneer placed just below the neck. This is partly for decorative effect but of the more functional relevance of protecting the soundboard from the scratches and marks of the strumming hand.

The three strings of the instrument are fashioned from gut, silver, steel or nylon (copper or overspun silver on lower range instruments). Originally silver or steel was used for the first (melody) string and gut for the two others which had different gauges. In the simple or old balalaikas strings two and three were both used as unison drones whereas with the chromatic balalaika they were essential for the construction of chords. Nowadays the first string of .28-.30mm thickness is made of metal and the other two of .90-1.00mm thick are most frequently of gut or nylon.[46] The tuning of the instrument was and is variable - it is dependent on genre of work, region or simply the notes a player wishes to leave open. The most common tuning, however, for the prima balalaika is e'-e'-a'. This tuning, however,

may provide yet another significant historical clue to the instrument's origins. Picken, in referring to the history of Turkish and Central Asian necked bowl-lutes, comments that:

> Indeed it seems possible that the two strings a fourth or fifth apart is the most ancient surviving tuning.[47]

Typical tunings for other members of the balalaika family are: piccolo b'-e"-a"; prima e'-e'-a'; secunda a-a-d'; alto e-e-a; bass E-A-d; contrabass E'-A'-d.[48]

The strings are stretched from three tuning pegs of ivory (nowadays a substitute material) at the instrument's head which is often beautifully carved.[49] The pegs are similar in shape to those of the violin and some balalaikas possess six pegs to increase the characteristic tremolo effect available on additional strings. From the stems of the pegs the strings travel along the fingerboard and soundboard to cross a loose bridge[50] and ends at the tailpins.[51]

Due to the simple design of the balalaika, the original production centre of the instrument was virtually any Russian home which possessed the timber and simple tools for hand-made construction. Fuelled also by the growing popularity of the instrument in aristocratic and court circles, the promotion of the balalaika was greatly facilitated. The subsequent professional 'improvement' of the instrument and its development into a family, however, finds its production roots in the work of Vasily V. Andreyev (1861-1918) (plate 16).

THE SOCIAL AND MUSICAL BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENCE OF THE BALALAIKA IN RUSSIA

A detailed discussion of the history of Russia and history of Russian music is beyond the scope of this dissertation. It is, however, useful here to provide a brief overview of the historical, social and musical developments that helped to create a suitable musical environment into which the balalaika and its repertoire could be launched. By the end of the ninth century A.D. the State of Kiev had been formed. Emerging as the largest State in Europe, its trade connections with the West and Byzantium created a climate for cultural and religious growth culminating in the introduction of Byzantine Orthodoxy to Russia in 988 when Vladimir (978-1015) was received into the Eastern Orthodox Church. Two years

Plate 16

Photograph of V.V. Andreyev in 1898. From F.V. Sokolov's *Russkaya Narodnaya Balalaika,* Moscow 1962, p.22

later he proclaimed Christianity as the faith of his realm.

It is in Kiev, and following Kiev's decline, in Novgorod that the first examples of manuscript music in the form of neumatic notation were discovered. Although Novgorod became a centre of musical excellence which featured the Novgorod Choir School, other elements of musical life were also active in the form of ballad singers, music of a military nature and the music of the *skomorokhi*, who received a particular dispensation from the State and the Church to perform their material. Russia's primary works of musical expression, however, augmented in popularity by the conversion of Russia to Christianity were liturgical chants.

It was as a result of the influences of neighbouring East European countries that the chants of the church developed into new forms which included a variety of functional aspects or incorporated different texts. The oldest chant performed, as early as the twelfth century, within the liturgical setting was known as the znamenny chant, a term derived from znamia which means neume or sign. The znamenny was based on a system of eight modes in which each mode had a melodic formula constructed of phrases bound by the meaning or rhythm of the text. Other chants of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the centre of musical life transferred to Moscow, added ornamentation. Later, hybrids of the znamenny chant and newly composed chants evolved the form to its most sophisticated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It was during the seventeenth century, that one of the most important genres known as the kant (plural, kanty) evolved. This strophic song was important for its implementation of the western device of homophony. Kanty were usually comprised of three-part vocals with the upper parts in parallel thirds or sixths and a bass line which provided a simple harmonic pattern. The kant is described in full by Olga Doskaya-Ackerly in her dissertation.[52] The kant, however, was susceptible to both eastern and western influences which in turn influenced other musical genres:

The quickening pace of the Western influences in the seventeenth century and the need for immediate assimilation, however, made the kant develop in the direction of over simplification and tunefulness rather than inner spiritual expression.[53]

Although sacred kanty were still composed and performed, the growth of both secular subject matter and secular education alongside the receding role of the church in society infiltrated the kanty during the reign of Peter the Great (1882-1725). Coupled with the immigration of foreigners and the view that western models were useful for imitation, further adaptations and mutations of musical material ensued. By the eighteenth century, when musical life transferred its centre to the newly founded St. Petersburg, kanty were composed for any event or situation in daily life. According to Ackerly[54] the kant eventually transformed itself into the Russian art song or 'romans' acquiring the character of a solo song. Additionally, the rhythms familiar to dances of the era and the major/minor alternation and occasional imitative devices of Russian folk song were also incorporated as a feature of the work. As such, the kant acts as a useful model to illustrate the influences of both an indigenous culture and western culture on a musical genre - a marriage of differing cultural strands which the balalaika would itself experience.

THE ROLE OF INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Similar transformations, however, were also occurring outside the vocal realm as the decline of the church's role in Russian culture became apparent. Both amateur and professional instrumentalists and ensembles alike adopted some of the new elements of Russian musical life. According to Jacob von Stahlin instrumental music-making was very much alive in Moscow in the 1730s:

Three brothers who were Trubetskis princes performed a fascinating trio on violin, harpsichord and cello at the Stroganov's house in Moscow.[55]

Professional and amateur music makers alike were influenced by many of the sweeping reforms and westernisation that had been implemented during the reigns of Peter the Great (1682-1725), Catherine I (1725-1727), Peter II (1727-1730), Empress Anna (1730-1740), Empress Elizabeth (1741-1761) and Catherine II (1762-1796). Peter had encouraged and implemented closer ties with the West and his Petrine reforms included the adoption of European dress and western cultural habits. Further reforms included the transfer of the

Russian capital from Moscow to St. Petersburg and through the introduction of ballroom dancing and other social events, the abolishment of the terem (the isolation of Russian women of the family from all males). The Petrine reforms also paved the way for the establishing of concert halls, theatres and the visits of foreign musicians to the city.

Although many reforms were implemented in the upper echelons of a society and culture spawned from the European Zeitgeist, it was the traditions linked to the functional aspects of folk music that were foremost in the psyches of the lower classes. It was this maintenance of attachments to the West and to the traditions of native Russians that characterised the reigns of Anna, Elizabeth and Catherine especially in relation to the environment of the Court. Anna kept both a foreign orchestra and an orchestra of native musicians whilst Catherine kept her own chamber ensemble and possessed an awareness of the musical roots of the masses.

It was during the reign of Catherine II, however, that the first Russian native composers, such as Ivan Khandoshkin (1765-1804) and Vasilii Pashkevitch (1763-1811) appeared. Khandoshkin was a violin virtuoso and composer for Catherine and Pashkevitch became her court composer. In 1780, Khandoshkin became the first Russian artist to give a concert.

Such composers assisted the development of professional concert music-making which occupied the middle to the end of the eighteenth century. As early as 1731 operatic life emerged with G.A. Ristori's *Calandro* - the first opera performed in Russia. Following the vogue for Italian operas Russian native composers launched their careers chiefly from the 1770s. Many composers used folk tunes as source material for their operas. Notable amongst such early Russian operas are: Dementy Alexeyevich Zorin's (1755-fl.1777) *Pererozhdeniye (The Rebirth)* (1777); Mikhail Frantsevich Kerzelli's (c1740-1804) *Rozana i Lyubim (Rozanna and Liyubim)* (1778); Mikhail Vasilii Pashkevich's (c1742-1797) *Sanktpeterburgskiy gostini dvor (The St. Petersburg Bazaar)* and *Neschastye ot karety (The Misfortunes of Having a Carriage)* (1779); Yevstignei Ipatovich Fomin's (1741-1800) *Amerikantsi (The Americans)*; and Mikhail Matveyevich Sokolovsky's (fl.c1750-1780) *Melnik-koldun, Obmanshchik i Svat (The Miller-Magician, Deceiver and Matchmaker)* (1779). In this instance Sokolovsky, the first violinist of the Moscow Russian Theatre, arranged the music from folk tunes. The extant score is an arrangement by Evstigney Ipatovich Fomin (1761-1800).

During this growth in professional music-making an interest in music performed in the home became prominent. This led to an increase in performers, music clubs, Russian instrument makers and the emergence of publishers. Wealthy individuals even possessed their own orchestras of serfs which were trained and often sold off as complete packages to other individuals. Although native music attempted to maintain its standing in such a musical climate - helped to some extent by the fact that the empresses liked both foreign and native material - the latent attitude to these musics is perhaps best revealed by M.D. Calvocoressi's comment:

> After giving his concerts, the Italian Lolli would be presented with a diamond-studded bow, but a meagre recompense in money was considered sufficient for the brilliant Russian Khandoshkin.[56]

The eighteenth century did, however, enjoy a renaissance of the native folk song and descriptions of some of the collections in which this material was found is described in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

In terms of an environment into which the balalaika of Andreyev could be launched, both the amateur music-making and the professional opera and concert life of Russia provided a context where the balalaika performer or maker could contribute to the strands of native and foreign music which had run concurrently for centuries. On the one hand it was hoped that the balalaika would fit into the musical life of the lower classes who favoured their traditional folk songs. On the other hand it would fall in line with the western traditions of creating a family of instruments with specific tunings and a repertoire which could evolve into an instrumental family suitable for professional musical life.

THE RISE OF THE BALALAIKA IN RUSSIAN SOCIETY

The balalaika's rise in elite Russian society was largely masterminded by Vasilii Vasilievich Andreyev (1861-1918) whose vision was to elevate the instrument from a peasants' environment to the concert platform - thereby raising the profile of the instrument in the cultural life of the nation. His mission to develop and improve the balalaika began in 1882 after he heard the instrument played by a peasant on his family's estate. In 1884, impressed with the remarkable timbre of the instrument, Andreyev was tutored by the

amateur balalaikist and Hussar officer Aleksandr Stepanovich Paskhin, who passed on to him some new playing techniques.

Andreyev's first balalaika was made by Moraviev in 1884 but, unhappy with the design, Andreyev himself sketched out plans for a concert style balalaika which V.V. Ivanov, a St. Petersburg violin maker, would build in 1885/86. Apart from improving the acoustics of the soundbox through the use of mountain maple, Ivanov replaced the original gut frets with five metallic frets cut into the fingerboard. Overall the instrument produced a more robust timbre than its peasant predecessor. Further designs, developments and constructions were executed in 1885/86 by F.S. Paserbsky, a guitar maker using Ivanov's instrument as a template. These resulted in the manufacture of a twelve fretted balalaika making it possible to play scales as well as chromatic passages. Andreyev gave his first public performance on the balalaika on 23 December 1886 in St. Petersburg:

Towards the end of the evening there was a genuine surprise - this genuine delight arose from the playing - on what do you think? On the balalaika! by Mr. Andreyev. Under the fingers of this artist - we dare to call him that - one was completely compelled to forget the low origin of this simple instrument.[57]

Due to the success of this performance Andreyev formed the first amateur balalaika ensemble variously known through diverse translations as the 'Society of Lovers of Playing the Balalaika' or the 'First Group of Devotees of Playing the Balalaika'. He also collaborated with P.K. Seliverstov to produce a manual on balalaika instruction.

As a result of the positive response to Andreyev's public performances he became convinced that a further improved version of the balalaika with fully chromatic possibilities could raise the instrument to one of concert stature. According to Anatolii Peresada in his book *Balalaika*,[58] Andreyev not only felt the future of the balalaika lay purely in the technical improvement of the instrument. He argued that the future of the instrument was also assisted by the ease of learning the instrument, its apparent accessibility, and a simple tablature system of fingering. This, he believed, enabled a mass population to develop a musical gift which would form aesthetic or musical tastes and open up their intellects to the realm of folk art. It is perhaps these factors alongside the *joie de vivre* emphasis of the balalaika repertoire that captured the imagination of different peoples. The practical benefits of easy assembly in a triangular form from available woods throughout Russia also

contributed to its future dissemination.

Andreyev's obsession with the popularity vogue of the instrument and its repertoire of Russian folksongs later led to the plan that the balalaika should be spread to the masses with government support. Rejected by the authorities, Andreyev's next strategy was to attempt to arrange for the balalaika to be taught to Russian soldiers. He hoped that the soldiers on returning home would introduce the instrument and its repertoire to their social environment. In a letter to Leo Tolstoy, Andreyev asked:

> Are there songs necessary to the people, and can examples of these songs, communicated to perfection by the balalaika, develop the musical taste of the people?[59]

Tolstoy replied:

> I believe that you are doing a very fine thing in trying to preserve their old, charming songs for the people. I believe that the path you have chosen will lead you to your goal, and I wish you every success in your effort. With total respect, Yours faithfully, Leo Tolstoy March 20, 1896.[60]

Thanks to Tolstoy and a government state inspector Terty Ivanovitch Filippov, Andreyev's strategy for the tuition of the balalaika to soldiers became a reality and hundreds of soldiers in the St. Petersburg garrison began to learn the instrument.

Before the balalaika could begin its major voyage westwards, however, final improvements were added to the instrument. These included metal frets for the fingerboard, a permanent tuning, mechanical tuning pegs, steel strings in preference to gut, and a more streamlined triangular morphology. Such improvements were required to firmly underline the professional nature of the instrument and give it proven concert stature on tours abroad. Under Andreyev's supervision Paserbsky constructed a fully chromatic instrument in 1886 and in 1886/87 he built an improved orchestral family of balalaikas with a combined instrumental range of five and a half octaves. These consisted of descant, piccolo, prima, tenor, alto, bass and contrabass which were included in Andreyev's ensemble at their first concert performances in St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1888 and at the Paris World Exhibition in 1889 where the ensemble took up its place in the Russian Pavilion. The response to the orchestra was positive:

To him credit is due for having, firstly, increased the resources of his instrument, and secondly, for having promoted excellence in ensemble rather than solo playing. Since he has done this, the popularity of the balalaika in Russia has increased by leaps and bounds. The instrument has, in fact, become fashionable. It is whispered that the Czarina herself delights in it.[61]

The introduction of the instrument and its repertoire to academics and the general public continued during the 1890-91 Andreyev tours of Russia. Although the instrument was largely regarded by conservatory professors as a cheap circus act and was often publicised as such by periodicals of the era (plate 17), professional musicians and artists alike soon realised the breathtaking individuality of the instrument both in terms of timbre and repertoire. At a concert given in Tiblisi in 1891 the composer Anton Rubinstein (1829-1894) gave Andreyev this personal accolade:

I didn't think it would ever be possible to achieve such results on such a simple instrument. You have introduced a new element into music; honour and praise to you.[62]

Similarly the composer Jules Massenet (1842-1912) was impressed with the performance at the Paris World exhibition in 1889:

I listened with great interest to a band of Russian balalaika players. I was delighted by their talent and the sounds they extract from their picturesque instruments.[63]

By 1892, as well as a second trip - a five month tour to France - Andreyev was developing further designs and improvements and in 1895 was aided by the cabinet maker S.I. Nalimov (1858-1916), known as the 'Russian Stradivarius' and regarded as the best folk instrument maker of his time. Nalimov enlarged the body of the instrument to give Andreyev the increased sound production he required. They also produced what was to be the finest prima balalaika of those years followed by the first reconstructed domra in 1896 and later a reconstruction of the ancient gusli. Even further refinements of the balalaika ensemble and the inclusion of ancient Russian folk instruments was assisted by N.P. Fomin in 1896 when the balalaika ensemble was modified by fully integrating the family of domras and the gusli into the orchestra. Fomin also set a unified tuning in fourths of all the three-stringed instruments and at this point the descant and tenor balalaikas were jettisoned in preference for the new secunda. Based on this reorganisation Andreyev decided to merge the various ranks of balalaika ensembles to create in late 1896 an orchestra known as the *Veliko-Russki*

Plate 17

Frontispiece to the periodical *Oskolki*. Ed. N.A. Leikin. Illustrations by M.M.Dalchinich,

2 November 1891, No.44, St. Petersburg

Ochestra (Great Russian Orchestra). Soon after, other notable performers joined the group - among them were Nikolai Petrovich Fomin, Vladimir Trifonovich Nasonov, Fyodor Avgustovitch Niman, Nikolai Ivanovitch Privalov and Peter Petrovitch Kharkin - these were professional musicians who could read music, were technically accomplished and who could work on the standardisation of tuning. The orchestra gave its first public performance in 1898 and travelled in 1900 to the Paris World Fair where Andreyev and Nalimov were awarded gold and bronze medals respectively.

In 1905, having expended his own personal fortune in the interests of the balalaika, Andreyev conceded overall control of the group. The orchestra, now under royal patronage, was given the cultural mandate to represent the Russian nation. It is at this time that the name of the orchestra most probably changed to the Imperial Court Orchestra fulfilling its nationalistic and royal obligations when performing abroad. And indeed, tours abroad were favoured to those at home for fear that dangerous ideas might be propagated by playing balalaika music to the Russian masses.

It was not, however, solely Andreyev's vision for a concert balalaika or the construction of a family of balalaikas which prepared the instrument for its trans-continental migration. Much of the expression of Russianness within the musical and cultural traditions of what would become the new emigrés was rooted in a period known as the Silver Age. It was the characteristics of this Silver Age which assisted the migration of both the instrument and the emigrés and helped to create a climate for their acceptance in the host nation.

THE SILVER AGE - A PREPARATION FOR THE MIGRATION OF THE BALALAIKA

The Silver Age is commonly regarded as representing the Symbolist era in Russian art and literature.[64] Following the great famine of 1891-92, the Silver Age spanned the period 1892-1917. Although initially related to the renaissance of lyrical poetry in the form of Russian Symbolist poetry, the creative and innovative notions of the Silver Age also transplanted themselves into the other arts such as fine art, sculpture, choreography, design, and music. The design of the balalaika, for example, was directly affected by the fine arts of the Silver Age. It was Princess Maria Klavdiyevna Tenisheva (1867-1928) who first decided to select painters of the period to produce colourfully decorated balalaikas with illustrations on their

soundboards. She brought together artists and musicians on her estate at Talashkino near Smolensk and exhibited their completed balalaikas for the first time at the Paris Exhibition of 1900:

I decided to prepare an orchestra of balalaikas for the Paris exhibition of the most wonderful craftsmanship with soundboards and fingerboards decorated by Vrubel, Korovin, Davidovim, Mailutim, Golovin and two myself.[65]

The tradition of decorating balalaikas continued throughout the twentieth century (plates 18 to 20).

In the beginning, however, it was language which provided the catalyst. In 1892 the author Dimitri Merezhkovsky (1865-1941) gave a series of lectures on the decline of Russian literature which ignited the flame of a new literary era. This was the launch of a collection of poetry in 1894-95 by poet Valery Bryusov (1873-1924) - *Russian Symbolists*, an anthology of Russian work and translations of French and Belgian Symbolists which was instrumental in naming the new movement. Alongside Bryusov a school of Symbolist poets appeared: Konstantin Balmont (1867-1942); Andrei Bely (1880-1934) (pen name for Boris N. Bugaev); Alexander A. Blok (1880-1921); Zinaida Gippius (1863-1945); Vyacheslav Ivanov (1866-1949), and others. Strongly influenced by French Symbolists such as Mallarmé and Rimbaud they too contradicted the social realist art of the late nineteenth century in favour of the romantic ideals of the first half of the nineteenth century which had rejected the seasoning of art with politics and sociology. The Symbolists encouraged the formation of a world view which nurtured vision and progress:

Life demands transformation in a creative will. In this craving for transformation, art should go before life because it shows wonderful ideals to life, by which life can be transformed, if it wants to be.[66]

The popularity of such a new world view was further assisted by the fact that poetry, art and music had been overlooked by the Czarist censors whose attention became predominantly focused on the content and dissemination of political journals. As a result the movement's work also provoked a revived interest in mysticism and spirituality. In the words of Merezhkovsky's lecture they sought three main elements:

Plate 18

Decorated balalaika. Constructed and decorated by Francis Kosheleff

of Los Gatos, California, USA

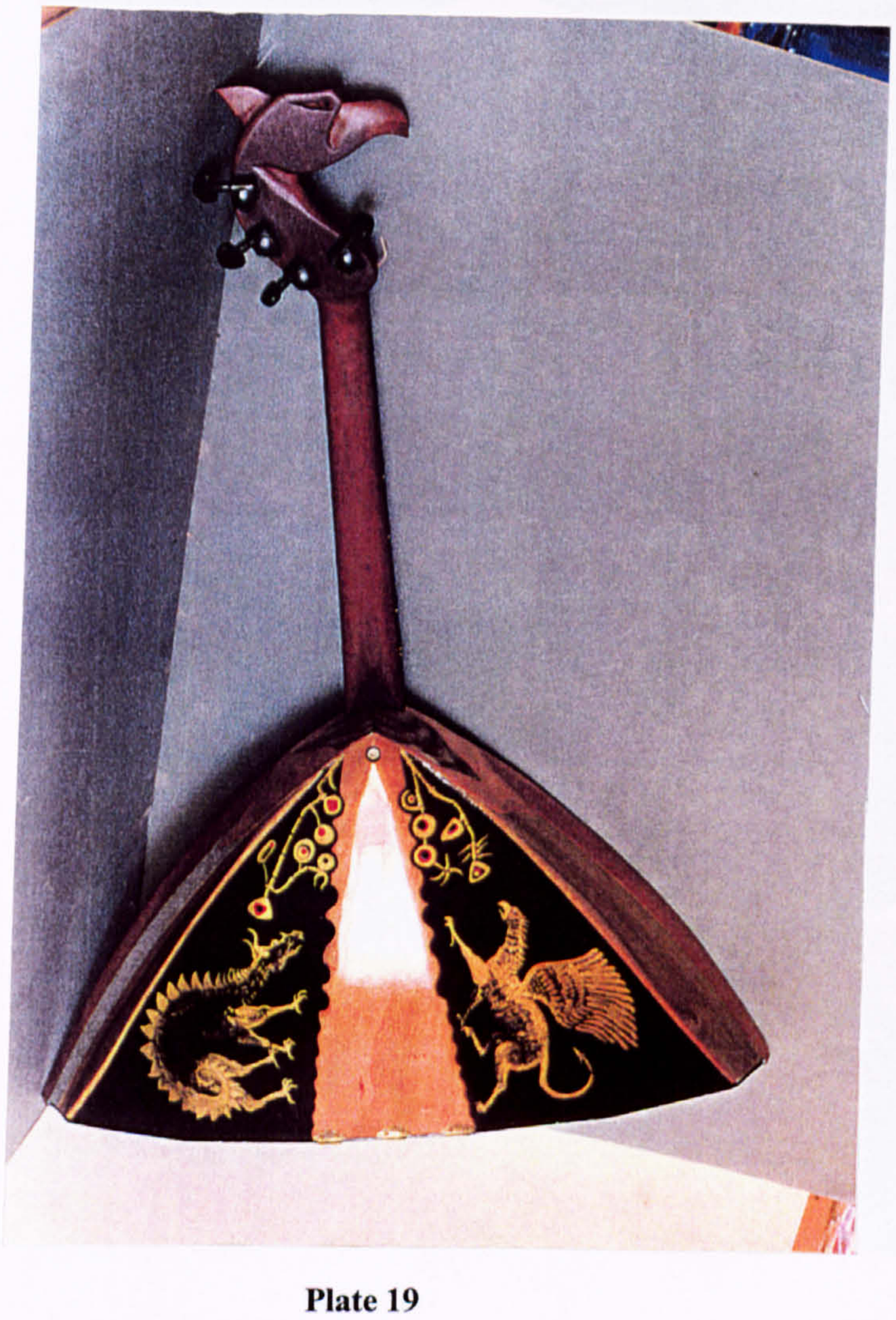

Plate 19

Decorated balalaika. Constructed and decorated by Francis Kosheleff

of Los Gatos, California, USA

Plate 20

Photograph of Harry Stalhammer of Boca Raton, Florida, USA holding a decorated prima balalaika. Photographed by Martin Kiszko at the 20th Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association of America. Lake George, N.Y., USA. 1998

Those are the three main elements of the new art: ***mystical contents, symbols,*** and a broadening of artistic sensitivity.[67]

More importantly, a route into the cultural consciousness of western societies was found for these elements and it was here the movement had its greatest impact.

One of the most important contributions during the Silver Age to the arts in the western world was the appearance in 1898 of an illustrated art magazine known as *Mir Iskustva (The World of Art)* which ran between 1899 and 1904. This publication aimed to promote the philosophy of the Symbolists and to stimulate the artistic appetite of the public. It became a potent force in both Europe and the USA. As *Mir Iskustva* grew in popularity, the evangelistic message of the Symbolists spread quickly and easily into other artistic disciplines. The work of Alexander N. Scriabin (1872-1915) and Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), for instance, had supported the ideals of the Symbolists and such works as *The Firebird* and *Le Sacre du Printemps* later reminded one of the narratives of poetry constructed by symbols. Primarily, it was the inter-relationship of the various arts through the medium of ballet and other staged productions which caught the attention of the international community. For example, the director and impresario Serge Diaghilev (1872-1929) aimed to integrate music, dance, stage design and the graphic arts. In particular, Diaghilev's artists Alexander Benois and Constantine Korovin initiated a school of stage painting that influenced the world of the performing arts internationally. As a result, the ensemble The Ballets Russes was successfully able to penetrate the western creative consciousness and, during the twenties and thirties, many emigrés who had worked on such productions passed on their expertise and experience to the production of ballet and operas in the West. A similar impression on the American performing arts was made by revues such as Yascha Yushny's Russian revue *The Bluebird*. Originating at the Imperial Theatre in Moscow, the revue had four thousand successful performances across Europe before arriving in the USA. The structure of the revue was constructed from Russian songs, extracts from art works, dramatic scenes, narration (document 1) and the use of stage pictures or designs (plate 21).

These types of productions, which came to the foreground during the Silver Age would assist the Russian emigré in two ways. First it followed, coincided with or pre-empted waves of Russian immigration. This enabled the West to be familiar with aspects of the

ALKMAAR
(The Cheese Market)

We carry and we roll it round, the wondrous product, cheese,
To send it forth immediately across the seven seas.
We never stop producing and we're happy as they come,
For not a stomach in the world has failed to harbor some!
We've put them up in balls, you see—in yellow, red and green;
We feel so very proud of them we want them to be seen.
The minute they're devoured, we send along another batch;
We make them every shade you like, so pick one that will match!
And if your dealer doesn't keep the Alkmaar cheese, you know
That all you have to do is promptly mail this place some dough.
We roll and roll them rapidly down to the ship in rows.
We wave our hands—and, presto! That's how fast your hunger goes.

Women:
If you keep up this work, you'd better have a little snack.
Those cheeses aren't light: why, they could break a fellow's back.
You'll feel entirely different
When you've been filled with nourishment—
You won't have such tired feet!

Men:
That's really very nice of you; we're grateful as can be.
The ship is taking everything we make across the sea.
In every corner of the earth
They love this cheese and sing its worth
And eat and eat and eat.

Come here, good woman, take a seat, we'll weigh you with this stuff.

Women:
You'd better put some more things on, or it won't weigh enough.

Men:
How much you weigh! I'd never have guessed.

Women:
Put more cheese on. Put all the rest!

All:
There, that's exactly right.

Men:
Now you come here and sit right in the middle for your weigh.

Women:
I'm getting sick and tired of all this weighing every day.

Men:
If you don't want to, beat it, then.
The work's all over for us, men.
Oh no, my wife's not bright.

We want to send you cheeses—it's the one
way we can please.
To work and gives us homes and
sometimes joy and ease.
What on earth do women know?
They can do is ask for dough—
We make with our cheese!

PIQUE DAME
(The Queen of Spades)
Music by Peter Tschaikowsky

Characters

The Countess (Pique Dame)
Lisa, her granddaughter
Pauline
Hermann, a young Russian officer
Tomsky, his friend
Prince Jeletsky, betrothed to Lisa.

Scene of action: St. Petersburg, Eighteenth Century.

The story of "Pique Dame" is one of melodrama, replete with superstition and tragedy. Pique Dame, the Queen of Spades, is an elderly countess who knows the secret of the three fateful cards which bring luck at the gambling table. Her granddaughter, Lisa, engaged to Prince Jeletsky, is deeply in love with Hermann, a young Russian officer who is endeavoring to accumulate a fortune to enable him to marry Lisa. She gives her lover the key to her grandmother's rooms, which he enters at night in an endeavor to induce the old Countess to tell him the secret of the three cards. The Countess refuses to listen to his pleadings and orders him from her apartment. When he draws his pistol in an effort to force from her the names of the three cards, she dies from terror.

The next scene shows Hermann in his quarters at the barracks. As the funeral cortège passes Hermann's quarters, a gust of wind blows open the windows, and the ghost of the old Countess, the Queen of Spades, appears, declaring, "Your fate is sealed! These are the three cards—ace, seven, three." With that she vanishes and Hermann goes out to keep a tryst with Lisa, who is awaiting him on the banks of the river Neva. She pleads with him not to go to the gambling house, and as Hermann leaves her, she throws herself into the river. The last act shows Hermann gambling wildly with Prince Jeletsky. Hermann wins on the first two cards, but when the third one, the queen of spades, turns up, he loses all. The ghost of the Countess again appears, and Hermann, imagining that she has come for his life, stabs himself to death.

Much beautiful music has been incorporated in this work by Tschaikowsky, but the most brilliant spot of the entire opera is generally considered the delightful duet between Lisa and Pauline in the second scene of Act I.

THE BOTTLE STOPPERS

Interlocutor:
We're Blue Birds and we've flown through countries near and distant;
We've stayed in sixteen capitals—they were insistent.
Our wings have taken us to curious places
And everywhere we went were different faces.
As we landed on new ground,
What diverging tastes we found!
People drink and rave about
What their special soil gives out.

Voices:
Here are drinks—now toss them in:
Vodka, Whiskey, Vermouth, Gin.

Interlocutor:
But your loudest cry is here—
Germans, stick to German beer!

Whiskey:
Count them up; three thousand years have passed
Since one-half the world began a fast
Swallowing of whiskey—and it's still not been outclassed.

Chorus:
Ha, ha!

Whiskey:
Mister Noah now sees just
How far Prohibition's a bust.

Prohibition:
Yes, we have no cognacos,
We have no cognacos today.
But, boy, how I live now! I drain like a sieve now.
I drink what I get—hooray.
Jerez, Samos, rum and gin—
Nothing this blotter can't drink in.
Yes, we have no cognacos,
We have no cognacos today.

Chorus:
Lord, what a thirst!

Benedictine:
Oh, what a thirst!
Benedictine, Bene-dico, dici, dictum, dicere,
I'm the first.

Look at me, I'm radiant with flame—
Let me fill you with the same:
You'll feel free from fret and blame—
That's good old Benedictine.
Bene-dico, dici, dictum, dicere,
Bene-dico, dici-dictum,
Bene, dictum, dicere,
Benedictine, Benedictine.
Je cherche toujours Titine,
Titine, O Titine, Titine, O la la!

Sliwowitz:
Pop the cork brightly,
Swallow me lightly,
I'm no unsightly
And common brew;
I'm God's select;
I command respect
In every throat and joyous soul—yours, too?

Vodka:
Drop the foreign drinks! All these
Aren't worth a copper sou.
All they give you is disease;
Only vodka's tried and true.
Herring first, then rabbit stew,
Cheese pancakes and caviar.
Then a glass of me! And you
Will outlive all men by far.

All:
Cheese pancakes and schnapps on top!
Gastronomic monster, stop.

Vermouth:
In vino veritas
Spiritus vini
Muto vermutho
Rossi-Martini
Verdi Otello
And Pirandello—
Only Fascisti
Won't find this misty.

Rhine Wine:
O mein lieber Augustin,
August to August you careen
With too much wine:
Happiness is all you know:
You live in an endless glow
Upon the Rhine.

All:
Augustin, Augustin,
Augustin, Augustin.

Document 1

Page of a libretto from the programme of Yascha Yushny's Russian revue *The Bluebird*.

Performed at the Locust Street Theater, Philadelphia, USA, c.1932

Plate 21

Stage picture design 'Russian Dance' from an illustrated programme to accompany *The Bluebird* Russian revue. Performed at the Locust Street Theater, Philadelphia, USA, c.1932

emigrés' cultural background. Second, the variety of Russian creative influences that had touched the arts of the West enabled a suitable passage through for the balalaika and its repertoire as the western vogue for Russian arts continued. It is at this point that all the aspects of Russianness carried to the USA by the first Russian emigrés must now be investigated. How did the emigrés place their creative traditions into the cultural fabric of the host nation and how was the importation of the balalaika successfully achieved?

ENDNOTES

[1] de Laborde, J.B., *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne,* Paris, P.D. Pierres, 1780, p.338. Translation, M. Kiszko

[2] F.A. Brokgauz and I.A. Efron, Ensiklopedicheskii, 1891, St. Petersburg, Vol.4. This reference is given as a footnote in F. Sokolov's *Russkaya Narodnaya Balalaika.* Moscow 1962, p.10. Translation, M. Kiszko

[3] The order, dated 16 August 1653, is reproduced in Akty Sobrannye, Vol.4, No.63

[4] Algernon Rose, *The Balalaika*, Proceedings of the Musical Association, 11 December 1900, p.79

[5] This document is mentioned in Inna Makarevich's article, 'Russian Folk Instruments' in the periodical *Soviet Life*, October 1969, Vol.10, No.157, pp.48-49

[6] F.V. Sokolov's footnote in *Russkaya Narodnaya Balalaika,* Moscow 1962, p.4, refers to U.I.I. Golikova's *Dopolneniya k Dyeyaniyam Pyetra Vyelikogo* (1792), which describes a list of instruments compiled by Peter the Great to create the orchestra for the event. The orchestra consisted of: 4 barabans, 5 rilas, 5 simple dudki, 5 black dudki, 5 large rogs, 2 tarelki, 2 citri, 6 skripkas, 9 flutes, 2 higher flutes, 3 surnais, 3 gudoks, 6 treshotkas, 8 navats and tulumbas, 8 vargans, 4 balalaikas, 2 tazas, 5 dudki, 3 pikulki, 4 dog whistles, 3 shepherd's rogs, 2 posthorn rozhoks, 3 gobuzes, 3 trubas, 3 kolokolchikas, 3 artillery rogs, 4 novgorod treshotkas, 3 black svirels, 3 puzirya with peas inside, 3 clay dudki, 3 gorshkas, 2 ancient sipovki, 3 volynkas and innumerable quantities of litavrs, nakras and valtorns. Descriptions of the orchestra are also noted in V. Mihnevich's *Ocherk Istorii Muziki v Rossii v Kulturnoobshysestvennom Otnoshyenii,* 1879, pp.125-126, and in I. Makarevich. Ibid

[7] Algernon Rose, op. cit., 1900, p.81

[8] F. Sokolov. Ibid. p.13 has a footnote which refers to Famyintsin's Works p.54. Sokolov's footnote points out that Famyintsin himself did not believe that Tatar balalaikas actually existed. Only the root of the word may be found in Tatar

[9] Algernon Rose, op. cit., 1900, p.81

[10] F. Sokolov. Ibid. p.13. Sokolov's footnote refers to Istoriya Kulturi Dryevnyei Rusi, Moscow/Leningrad 1951, p.498

[11] Furthermore, Michael Praetorius' drawings XXXII and XXXIII of ancient chordophones in the Theatrum Instrumentorum of The Syntagma Musicum of 1620 provide representations of the morphology of triangular formed instruments

[12] The standard reference book for the description of indigenous folk instruments in the CIS is the K. Vertkov, G. Blagodatov, E. Yazovitskaya encyclopedia, *Atlas of Musical Instruments of the Peoples Inhabiting the USSR,* State Publishers Music, Moscow 1963, rep.1975

[13] Willi Apel. *Harvard Dictionary of Music,* 2nd Edition, Heinemann, London 1979, describes the balalaika as: 'A popular Russian instrument of the guitar family.' Similarly, Michael Kennedy. *The Oxford Dictionary of Music,* OUP, Oxford/New York 1985, defines the instrument as: 'Russian guitar triangular in shape with (normally) three strings and fretted fingerboard.'

[14] Harvey Turnbull's excellent history of the guitar in *The New Grove*, (Ed. Stanley Sadie), Macmillan, London 1980, Vol.7, pp.825-843, illustrates how such speculative theories of origins - the Ancient Greek kithara, long-necked lutes of early Mesopotamia and Anatolia, the Coptic lutes found in Egypt - 'Often betray a lack of detailed analysis of the instruments considered; clarification will depend on a thorough study of their morphology and performing practice in the light of relevant ethnomusicological information.' Furthermore, Turnbull states that the guitar can be traced back to the Renaissance with no difficulty and morphologically the Renaissance guitar shares a frontal aspect similar to the vihuela

[15] L.E.R. Picken's authoritative book *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey,* London: OUP, 1975, has an excellent history section on the long-necked lute

[16] Curt Sachs, Denis Arnold and Anthony Baines

[17] Denis Arnold in *The New Oxford Companion to Music,* Oxford/New York, OUP, 1983, p.1099

[18] L.E.R. Picken. *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey,* London, OUP, 1975, p.271

[19] Curt Sachs. *Real Lexicon der Musikinstrumente,* New York, Dover, 1964, defines balalaika as: 'Balalaika from Tanbur type.'

[20] Dutar = two stringed lute; setar = three stringed lute, and so on
[21] Anthony Baines. *Musical Instruments Through The Ages.* Chapter 9: Ancient and Folk Backgrounds, Penguin 1961, p.212
[22] John Ogilvie. *The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language*, 1897, Blackie and Son, London
[23] M. Niebuhr. *Travels through Arabia and other Countries in the East,* Perth, R. Morrison Junior, 1799, Vol.1, p.103. Translation, Robert Heron
[24] K.Vertkov, G. Blagodatov, E. Yazovitskaya. Ibid
[25] Sibyl Marcuse. *A Survey of Musical Instruments,* Newton Abbott, 1975, entry under 'Balalaika'
[26] Curt Sachs. *The History of Musical Instruments,* New York, W.W. Norton, 1940, p.273. Sachs remarks that the dombra is the closest relative of the long lute depicted in illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter of 832 as well as in pictorial representations of King David's instrument in the ninth century Golden Psalter of St. Gall
[27] Both the 1913 and 1964 entries under Dombra in the Real-Lexicon are identical. Each describes the outline of the dombra as triangular
[28] K. Vertkov, G. Blagodatov, E. Yazovitskaya. Ibid. Ed.1975. Plates 562-564 (Kalmyk dombras), 570-571 (Turkmen dutars), 664-665 (Kirghiz komuz) and 676 (Kazakh dombra)
[29] Sibyl Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments,* Newton Abbott, 1975
[30] Cyril G. E. Bunt. *Russian Art from Scythes to Soviets,* London and New York, The Studio, 1946, p.181
[31] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Ed. Stanley Sadie), Macmillan, London 1980, Vol.2, p.56 under the entry 'Balalaika', by Grove in-house authors (not named), describes the dombra as the predecessor of the balalaika rather than the domra which most writers accept as the immediate predecessor. Here it appears that the two related instruments, dombra and domra, have been confused both in terminology and order of appearance. Furthermore their later dombra entry has no description of the aforementioned eighteenth-century variety which was replaced by the balalaika. I have rectified this confusion and have rewritten the balalaika entry for the New Grove edition 2000
[32] Gerald R. Seaman. *History of Russian Music - from its Origins to Dargomyzhsky,* Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1967, Vol.1, p.19
[33] Anthony Baines. *European and American Musical Instruments,* London, B.T. Batsford, 1966
[34] Anthony Baines. *The Oxford Companion to Musical Instruments,* Oxford New York, OUP, 1992, p.17, entry 'Balalaika'
[35] A. Famyintsin. *Domra i Spodiye yei Muzikalni Instrumenti Russkogo Naroda,* 1891, St. Petersburg
[36] N. Privalov. *Tanburovilni Muzikalni Instrumenti Russkogo Naroda,* Izvestiya, St. Peterburgskogo Obtshestva Muzikalnych Sovranii 1905, Vol.5, p.19, suggests that the rounded bodies of domras were simply trimmed off at the bottom to create a triangular form. Given that a triangular form was created by this method, the next stage would be to create such a shape using simple wooden planks
[37] F. V. Sokolov. *Russkaya Narodnaya Balalaika,* Moscow, 1962, p.11
[38] William Prince, however, in 'Building a Balalaika', an article taken from the Walter J. Kasura collection at the University of Illinois (no periodical reference given) mentions the use of three or four pieces of wood to fashion the bellies of many Russian balalaikas
[39] The use of plain maple, however, does not prejudice the tone. Early Cremona violins often utilised plain timber to achieve good tonal effect
[40] This technique is described by William Prince in his article 'Building a Balalaika' which I discovered in the Walter J. Kasura collection at the University of Illinois. Kasura gives no source reference for the article
[41] Purfling is a decorative inlay which is usually applied to the front and back of violins and other instruments
[42] Algernon Rose. Ibid, indicates that in roughly-made balalaikas the means of securing the heptagonal back is by the use of wooden pegs. Three tails pins are also placed into the bottom section passing through a tail-block two inches wide and a half-inch thick (Rose's measurements)
[43] Algernon Rose. Ibid, asserts the ordinary balalaika had five frets. The improved balalaika of Andreyev (the chromatic balalaika) however has sixteen. My chromatic balalaika purchased in

Moscow in 1985 has twenty-four frets

[44] Of further interest here is the fact that *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 5th. Edition, 1954, Vol.3, p.494 under the entry 'Frets', by A.J. Hipkins, Robert Donington and Henry George Farmer, advocates continued usage of the coloured lines for frets: 'In the present day the balalaika of the Russian country people has coloured lines that serve for guides.'

[45] This is virtually imperceptible on the belly of my own balalaika

[46] It is not always possible to find balalaika strings in the CIS. Substitute strings of the correct tension and length have to be found from sources such as tenor banjos and classical guitars

[47] L.E.R. Picken, op. cit. 1975, p.272

[48] Tunings from Curt Sachs *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente,* New York, Dover, 1964

[49] Algernon Rose saw a balalaika head beautifully carved to a design of two seahorses facing each other

[50] Algernon Rose. Ibid, defines the bridge as constructed in the style of the old English mandolin bridge - of banjo-pattern with two feet

[51] In addition to the conventional construction methods for balalaikas luthiers such as Francis Kosheleff of Los Gatos, California have experimented with adapting the morphology and mechanics of the instrument. Kosheleff, who has built many stringed instruments over the last twenty years, has produced folding balalaikas which increase portability. He has also produced highly decorative instruments and a vodkalaika, a balalaika which dispenses vodka via a small plugged hole in the base of the sound chamber.

[52] Olga Dolskaya-Ackerly, *The Early Kant in Seventeenth-Century Russian Music.* Ph.D. 1983, University of Kansas

[53] Ibid, p.87

[54] Ibid, p.189

[55] Jacob von Stahlin. 'Muzika i Balet v Rossii XVIII Veka' Muzikalnoye Izdatelstvo "Triton", Leningrad 1935. Quote translation, M. Kiszko

[56] M. D. Calvocoressi. *A Survey of Russian Music.* Richard Clay and Company, Bungay, Suffolk for Penguin Books, 1944, p.23

[57] From the *Petersburg Gazette,* 24 December 1886 translated by Bruce Wood in Wood's *Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Andreyev,* unpublished, Bruce Wood's Archive, Philo, Illinois. p.4

[58] Pub. Moscow Music, undated, pp.17-18

[59] V.V. Andreyev. *Materialy i Dokumenty.* Ed. Bernard Borisovich Gronowskiy, Muzika Moscow, 1986, p.164-165, letter no.8

[60] Ibid, p.164-165

[61] Algernon Rose. 'The Balalaika', Proceedings of the Musical Association, 11 December 1900, p.74

[62] *Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Andreyev,* Trans. Bruce Wood, unpublished, Bruce Wood Archive, Philo, Illinois

[63] 'Russian Folk Instruments', I.Makarevich, *Soviet Life.* October 1969, 10 (157), p.49

[64] The definition of 'Silver Age' given by *The Oxford English Dictionary,* 2nd Edition, Prepared by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C Weiner, Volume XV, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989, p.485, defines the term as: 'A period of Russian literature and art at the beginning of the twentieth century considered in comparison with the golden era of the mid-nineteenth century.'

[65] 'Oihivshaya v Zvukakh Kraskakh Skaza', L. Zhuraveleva, in *Sovetskaya Muzyka.* July 1976, No.40, pp.140-141

[66] Fyodor Sologub. 'A Speech about Symbolism' 1914. Translated by Ronald E, Peterson in *The Russian Symbolists An Anthology of Critical and Theoretical Writings.* Ardis Publishers, Ann Arbor, 1986, p.193

[67] Dmitry Merezhkovsky, 'On the Reasons for the Decline, and the New Currents, in Contemporary Russian Literature'. 1892, Translated by Ronald E. Peterson in *The Russian Symbolists An Anthology of Critical and Theoretical Writings.* Ardis Publishers, Ann Arbor, 1986, p.21

CHAPTER TWO

THE MIGRATION OF THE BALALAIKA TO THE USA - HOW THE WEST WAS WON

THE FIRST EMIGRÉS

The New Colossus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome ; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twice cities frame
"Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips."Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

This sonnet, by New York poet Emma Lazurus (1849-1887), was composed in 1883 for a literary auction to aid the Statue of Liberty fund and is carved on the monument's base.[1] Lazarus herself was a descendent of emigrés - Sephardic Jews from Portugal - and her sonnet not only reflects her background but celebrates America's pride as a nation that welcomed the 'huddled masses' and became a haven for the refugees that peopled America between 1815 and 1914.[2]

Several significant stages of immigration had taken place during those years beginning with a trickle of emigrés between 1800 and 1819. This early wave was largely as a result of wars, agricultural problems and political upheavals at home. It was during the 1820s to 1860s, however, that the first major wave of migration took place. The reasons for such a substantial exodus were varied: poverty, famines, wars, rebellions, economic collapse and religious persecution. This flood of emigrés to America was, at first, made up predominantly of the Irish, the Scots, the Welsh, and the Germans. These peoples fled from the Irish potato blight,

from the Scottish Highlands, the 1845 crop failure in Britain and from Germany's lower Rhine Valley.

A second wave of immigration followed between 1860 and 1882 by agricultural labourers and farmers from England, Germany and Scandinavia with Germany contributing more refugees than any other country.[3] Alongside the end of the American Civil War in 1865, immigration was encouraged by economic pressures, industrialisation and unemployment in the homeland. This period saw America dramatically boost its reception of immigrants in search of post-civil war prosperity, freedom and opportunity.

The third major wave of immigrants, many of whom were Russian subjects and persecuted Russian Jews, emigrated between 1882 and 1914, from Karelia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. The main draw to the USA was the escape from political or religious persecution and the hope of careers in new industries. By 1907, at a time when immigration was annually exceeding one million, the Russian exodus and emigrés from Austria-Hungary, the Balkans and Italy accounted for three-quarters of all immigrants to the USA.[4] Specifically, it was the Russian emigrés who continued to arrive from the end of the war years and throughout the post-war years. These emigrés included Russians who left before or after the Bolshevik win of power in October 1917 and those of the 1919-1921 emigrations who rejected the Bolshevik regime and fled as a result of the 1920-21 civil war in which the Bolshevik Red Army defeated the White Armies of the former Czarist admiral Alexander V. Kolchak. The ensuing political and economic instability, which accompanied a Bolshevik debate about making trade unions agencies of the state, also encouraged such a departure.

Many Russians fled first via exits on the Black Sea to Istanbul which became the first major centre for Russian emigrés. Others fled westwards to the Baltic States, Poland and Germany. Europe too, via Istanbul, was a popular destination and emigrés relocated with the assistance of humanitarian organisations.

A second group of Russians departed via Poland and Germany and others fled the new Soviet Russia from the Manchurian town of Harbin. According to figures found by Marc Raeff in his book *Russia Abroad*,[5] the German historian Hans von Rimscha estimated that in 1921 the total of Russian emigrés was 2,935,000 and as of 1 November 1920 the American Red Cross calculated 1,963,500. Many of these emigrés were expelled by Lenin for their co-operation with the famine relief agencies, notably the American Relief Administration

chaired by Herbert Hoover. Largely consisting of emigré intellectuals and academics, their expulsion provided a pool of prominent individuals who would begin to shape the emigré cultures of the countries to which they fled.

It was the process of acculturation that posed the major challenges for these emigrés. Acculturation meant the interaction and diffusion of the emigrés' cultural values in the host country and the question of how they would respond to the acquisition of new cultural characteristics. The degrees of acculturation varied from total assimilation, adaptation or acceptance to the acquisition of a new culture through enculturation. These categories are defined and examined in the following paragraphs.

The most fundamental dilemma associated with the challenges of acculturation lay in the questions of nationality and citizenship. For some emigrés, the adoption of new citizenship by naturalisation was interpreted as a betrayal of their homeland. Such individuals were often ostracised by their own community in exile. Conversely, others who opted for naturalisation perceived themselves as dual nationals who could comfortably straddle both cultures. The discussion of the degree to which the adoption of a new nationality should take place was also complicated by questions of how successfully the cultural traditions of the immigrants would migrate to American life. The author Oscar Handlin[6] suggested that any cultural attachments to the homeland rapidly disappeared under the weight of the new:

> To be sure, he brought with him the germs of institutions - a preference for the forms of association, worship and pleasure to which he had been accustomed. This sometimes meant that, if he were thrown with fellow immigrants upon his arrival and if the environment were not definitely hostile, they would reproduce a part of the homeland and found a 'colony'. But in time the chemistry of the new scene dissolved even such Old-World, attachments.[7]

The notion of the eradication of attachments to the Old World was generally promoted as a theory associated with assimilation. Here assimilation may be defined as the replacement of an indigenous culture by a foreign one. For the advocates of assimilation, an American ethos had already been formed and could not or should not be modified by the emigrés. Within this worldview, there existed a national characteristic, to which inevitably, immigrants should adjust. Another concept championed by theorists was termed the 'melting pot'. Here, America was perceived as a huge melting pot into which the national and cultural ingredients of different races were blended. As the attachments of the Old World were shaken and stirred with those of the New, the mix was expected to produce a cocktail of the new breed

of ethnic-Americans who could adapt their backgrounds to the American Zeitgeist. This process of adaptation may be defined as the inclusion of foreign influences into the American culture. More relevant, and perhaps more accurate as a discussion of how the cultural baggage of the emigrés unpacked itself in the USA were the views of those who advocated cultural pluralism or acceptance. Here the process of acceptance enabled foreign influences to be integrated without modification into the host culture and to flourish alongside it. Amongst these advocates was the philosopher Horace M. Kallen, who rejected the production of a perfectly formed homogeneous society by the melting pot method. Kallen saw American society becoming a federation of cultures:

> As in an orchestra, every type of instrument has its specific timbre and tonality, founded in its substance and form; as every type has its appropriate theme and melody in the whole symphony, so in society each ethnic group is the natural instrument, its spirit and culture are its theme and melody, and the harmony and dissonances and discords of them all make the symphony of civilization, with this difference: a musical symphony is written before it is played; in the symphony of civilization the playing is the writing, so that there is nothing so fixed and inevitable about its progressions in music, so that within the limits set by nature they may vary at will, and the range and variety of the harmonies may become wider and richer and more beautiful. But the question is, do the dominant classes in America want such a society?[8]

Much of the spirit of Kallen's analogy of the orchestra is evident in the acceptance by the emigré of his new environment. The birth of this cultural pluralism began with the early strategies of the first Russian immigrants - to ensure that their children were not only accepting a new ethos but that they were also instructed in the traditions and culture of the Russia they had fled. In the short term this approach would aid the growth of the Russian community in the USA, but in the long term, another agenda would take a prominent role. This was the idea that the cultural and intellectual endeavours of the emigrés would hopefully prepare them for a return to a new Russia, whenever that might be. History, however, demonstrated that to keep an equable relationship between the two cultural identities was both challenging and difficult. Whilst children grew up with the language and cultural baggage of old Russia, they invariably assimilated sizeable portions of the culture of their new host country as the years of Soviet Communist rule passed by and remained unchallenged.

THE EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION ON THE EMIGRÉS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SYMPHONY OF CIVILISATION

One contributory factor which accelerated acculturation was enculturation – the process of acquiring aspects of the new culture through educative means such as the school curriculum, universities, and the media. The need to stimulate the participation of emigré or first generation children into the education framework of the host nation provided the catalyst for enculturation. Although some of the larger emigré communities' primary schools were equipped to run Russian-based subjects which were beneficial in their attempts to run the two cultures in synchronicity, smaller communities of emigrés lacked this privilege. They sent their children to American local schools where they endeavoured to re-balance the cultural equation, and thus avoid wholesale assimilation, by providing teaching in Russian subjects as extra-curricula activity.

As education continued for emigré children at secondary school level, students not only pursued their own extra curricula language learning but learnt the history and geography of the host nation in addition to the English language. Although subjects connected with the host nation were essential requirements of the curriculum, the emphasis for emigrés was to pursue the parallel tracks of a Russian and American education in the hope that it would prepare them for a return to a future liberated Russia. Such hopes, however, were diminished for two reasons. First, the continual instability in the USSR offered no signs of change and second, the increased assimilation of native Russian academics into other areas of American employment led to fewer contributions by emigré teachers to the emigré or first generation undergraduate. As these students became graduates in the socially stable environment of the USA, the fear amongst older emigrés was that the acquired knowledge of the graduates might be wholly transferred to the academic and professional life of the host nation. Although this became a legitimate fear, it was an acceptance of aspects of American culture, in contrast to a full assimilation, that would take place. A full-scale assimilation could not take place whilst certain cultural traditions were still perpetuated in family life, if not passed on through a school education. To fully understand, which of these attributes of Russian culture the emigrés sought to preserve in the host nation, it is necessary to investigate which creative traditions the emigrés had actually carried with them to the New World, from which disciplines they were derived and how successfully they had migrated to the USA. These questions may be answered by first defining the constituents of Russian culture.

In Richard Stites' fascinating examination of entertainment and society in Russia post 1900[9] he describes Russian popular culture as:

> Popular culture, whether urban or folk, is a ceaseless bubbling up of stories and tales - told or sung or acted - with twists and tricks and plots that give shape and shock to our emotions.

In terms of the migration of Russian culture the emigrés had transported both the urban and rural varieties. For the emigrés of village communities this signified a close connection to music, dance, or narratives associated with family and religious events such as births, deaths and church festivals. Throughout the nineteenth century this lifestyle had been accompanied in particular by folk songs which told stories of epic or heroic deeds and served the village wedding, funeral or local entertainment. For the urban emigré, however, the cultural fingerprinting was different. Their cultural participation was often based on class divisions experienced in the urban environments of the homeland. Although some fusion between the backgrounds to urban and village life may have developed, the cognocenti from a Russian urban environment chose novels, poetry, theatre, circus, balls, races, music soirées and receptions as acceptable pursuits. The outcome of such polarities of cultural identity meant that for emigrés from a rural environment the functional aspects of Russian folk music, for example, were still associated with the accompaniment of dance and folk song. For those from an urban environment, aspects of Russian folk song transferred to the USA may only have been highlighted by a transfer of function - through the recognition of a native genre of music within a specially composed work for the concert hall or restaurant cabaret. In much the same way as jazz in the USA flourished from humble beginnings to its eventual integration into art works, the urban emigrés recognised the performance characteristics and repertoire of Russian folk music as it successfully permeated similar niches of sophistication in the cultural life of the host nation.

In his book *Russia Abroad*, Marc Raeff believes it was the traditions of literary work that became the most transportable product. It created memories of the homeland and enhanced notions of what constituted a Russian mentality. Music, he argues, is more easily and readily assimilated into another culture. For Raeff, modern Russian culture found its strongest expression in language and literature:

> Of course literary media are easily transmitted and seem to be the most 'exportable'; and language is the one feature that defines a unique national identity. Painting and music can also claim to represent Russian cultural achievements in unique ways, but such claims are contestable, since music and visual

arts are seen rather as universal and are more easily assimilated into the Western or world cultural scene.[10]

It may also be argued, however, that traditional Russian music performed in small ensembles and separate from its use in major art works was not entirely assimilated into American culture. Most Russian folk song was built around the rhythms of speech and traditional poems and it may be argued that this traditional music as well as literature found a unique expression which also set it apart. Genres of traditional Russian song, choral and instrumental music were preserved as much in emigré life as were the literary passions for the works of Gogol, Pushkin and Tolstoy.

Since Russian folk music was one of the most preserved traditions transported to the New World it is this genre in particular that was seen to fulfil two important roles. First it continued the traditions of Russian folk music within the musical enclaves of the emigrés and second, it captured the attention of American concert-goers through the performances of small emigré groups who contributed folk songs or dances at venues ranging from fairs to concert halls. Some of these aspects of Russian music through the aforementioned process of adaptation had already seeped through into the classical repertoire and were known. For instance, many of the melodies and rhythms associated with the Russian folk song had already permeated the compositions of composers such as Glinka, Rachmaninoff, Rimsky-Korsakoff and Tchaikovsky and these works had successfully established themselves in the international repertoire. Rimsky-Korsakoff for example had even employed balalaikas in his opera *Skazaniye o Nevidimom Gradye Kityezhe (The Tale of the Invisible City of Kitezh).* Furthermore, works which did not employ the balalaika itself often created imitative effects of the instrument with conventional musical instruments. Gerald Seaman states:

An essentially Russian feature, however, is the occasional employment of pizzicato strings to suggest the sound of balalaikas.[11]

A particularly good example of this effect is illustrated by the miller's aria 'Uzh Kak Shli Starik s Starukhoy' (How the Old Man Goes Out with the Old Woman) in Sokolovsky's opera *Melnik-Koldun, Obmanshchikisvat (The Miller Magician, Deceiver and Matchmaker)* (manuscript example 1). Another fine example may be located in Khandoshkin's variations of the theme *'Akh po Mostu, Mostu' (Oh, On the Bridge)* No.35 from the collection of Trutovsky folk songs - the pizzicato sixth variation is reminiscent of balalaikas. Other examples of the same technique may be found in Dargomitzhsky's *Rusalka (Rusalka),*

18. [Песня Мельника]

Мельник

Ладно! слушайтеж, што я вам петь буду. *(Настраивает сперва балалайку, потом поет.)*

Allegro

Flauto

Clarinetto (C)

2 Corni (D)

МЕЛЬНИК

1. Уж как шлиста_рякс старухой из ле_сочка:
2. На _ встре_чу ми поплелся сосед мель_ник,
3. Сосед мельник за_га_дает мне за_гад_ку:

Violini I

Violini II

Viole

Bassi

pizz.

Allegro

Piano

p sempre staccato

[1]Начало третьего куплета в рукописи ГБЛ1 здесь, аналогично т.11, изложено так:

11 – М. Соколовский

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Manuscript Example 1

Extract from M. Sokolovsky's opera *The Miller-Magician, Deceiver and Matchmaker* illustrating balalaika style scoring for strings. Moscow 'Muzyka' 1984, p.161

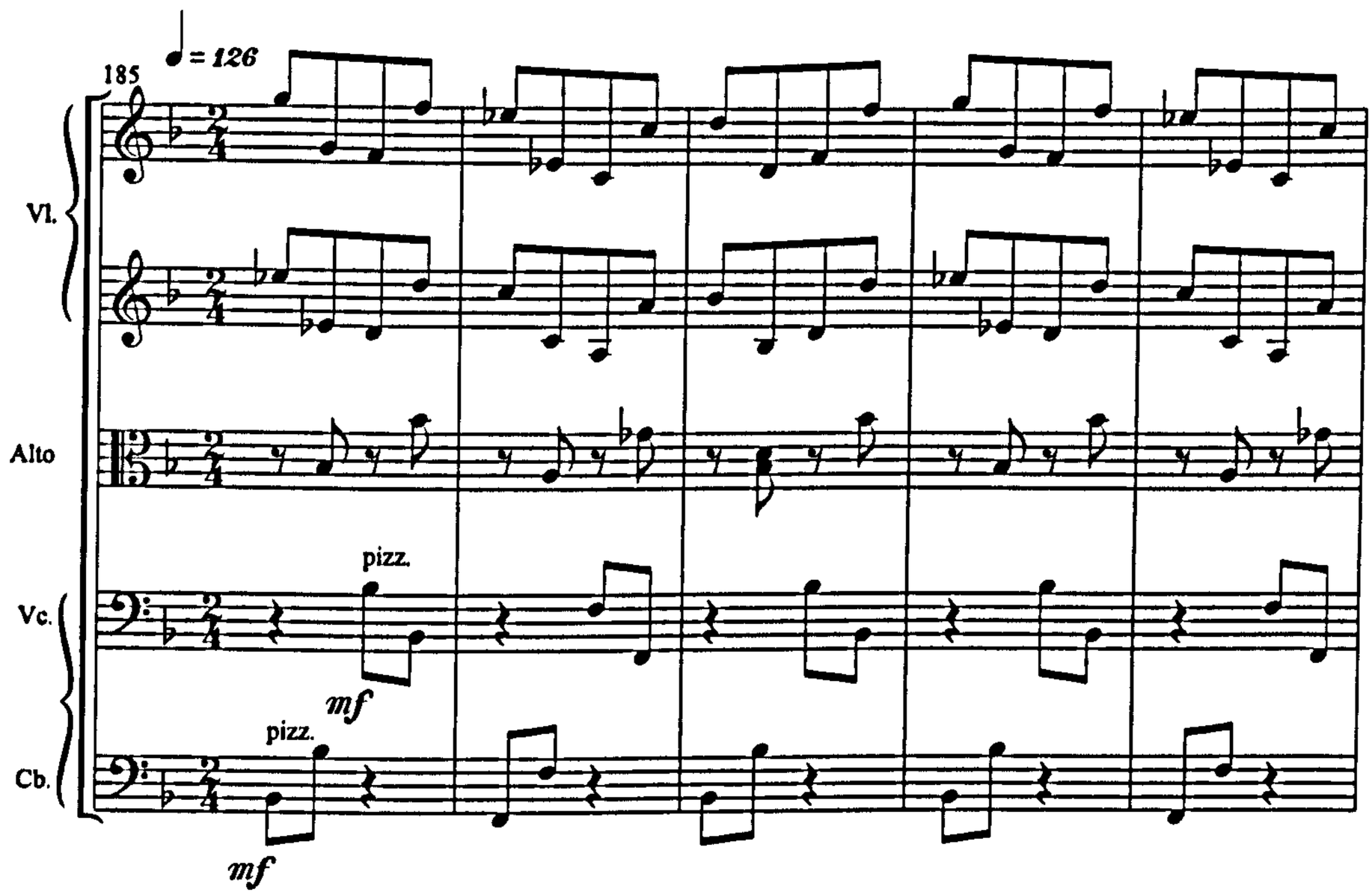
Glinka's *Kamarinskaya (Fantasy on Two Russian Folk Songs)* and *Zhizh za Tsarya (A Life for the Czar)* (manuscript example 2), Balakirev's *Overtura na Temi Treyoch Russkich Pesen (Overture on the Themes of Three Russian Songs)* (manuscript example 3), Serov's *Vrazhya Sila (The Force of Satan)*, A.S. Arensky's *Son na Volge (Dream on the Volga)* (manuscript example 4) and Stravinsky's movement 'Balalaika' from *Five Easy Pieces* (manuscript example 5).

Works employing imitative techniques or actual balalaikas were largely popularised by concert musicians of Russian extraction. One such musician was the conductor Sergei Alexandrovich Koussevitsky (1876-1951) who facilitated the use of the exportable aspects of indigenous Russian folk songs through the medium of classical music. Even the music of Igor Stravinsky was successfully integrated into the American *avant garde*. The popularisation of such works meant that classical and contemporary works alike became well known by both emigrés and indigenous Americans and this prepared the way for a dialogue between native Russian and Russian-American music.

The migration of the works of Russian art composers was also assisted by a renaissance of the aforementioned Silver Age which had hitherto prepared the West for the influences of Russian works. For the early emigrés the renaissance of the Silver Age secured a new environment that would welcome Russian creative traditions. For those who were artists and poets it was central to the vision for the world of arts in their host country. For the emigré consumers of art, it became the spirit of that age - a rejection of an oppressive past and the hope for new and free future. It could also become a cultural vehicle to assist the acculturation of Russian arts into American life and to provide an acceptable aid to the transplantation of the Russian people into an alien land. Yet, during the process of migration, how did the balalaika itself preserve its iconographic status as one of the foremost popular instruments in Russian music and how was its integration and growth in Russian-American emigré life achieved?

THE RISE OF THE BALALAIKA IN THE USA

There are factors which have already been mentioned in Chapter One. These were the ease with which the instrument could be mastered by all classes of people and the knowledge of the repertoire of folk song that had already been imprinted since childhood on the psyche of the native Russians. A major contributory factor which assisted the rise of the balalaika in



Manuscript Example 2

Extract from M. Glinka's *Kamarinskaya* - fantasy on two Russian folk songs illustrating the rhythm of plucked balalaikas on orchestral strings. Miniature Scores, Ernst Eulenberg Ltd. New York., bars 185-189

Manuscript Example 3

Extract from Balakirev's *Overture on the Themes of Three Russian Folksongs* illustrating a typical folksong once accompanied by balalaika. State Publishers, 1978, p.25, section 17

Manuscript Example 4

Extract from A. Arensky's *Dream on the Volga* illustrating ascending scales which are reminiscent of virtuosic balalaika passages. Edwin J. Kalmus, New York, p.16, section h

Manuscript Example 5

Extract from I. Stravinsky's 'Balalaika' from *Five Easy Pieces*. J. & W. Chester Edition. Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd. 1917, p.9.
The example illustrates a simple melody representative of the simple execution of the balalaika and the transparent timbre of the instrument

the USA were Andreyev's tours of America. These firmly placed the balalaika into the musical consciousness of Americans whilst bringing a direct physical and aural representation of the homeland into the lives of many of the emigré communities.

It was after the 1907 tour to Germany that Andreyev made specific preparations for a worldwide tour of Europe and America. The launch of this tour took place in 1909/1910 with an itinerary which took in Berlin, Paris, England, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The concerts were a whirlwind success with such reviews in London as:

> English lovers of music will certainly find it worth their while to go and hear his orchestra at the Coliseum. It is admirably conducted, in perfect control, and composed of real musicians, and the quality of the instruments is quite delightful. A solo performance showed that the balalaika is free both from the sharpness and from the twangy sounds of the mandoline; the effect of the whole orchestra is soft, rich and capable of more variety than might be supposed.[12]

The enthusiasm for the instrument in the UK was spearheaded by H.H. Prince Tschagadaeff-Saksansky, Prince of Tatar, who took up balalaika playing in 1905. In July 1909, aware of his musicianship, Andreyev made him leader of his balalaika section for the British tour. Tschagadaeff stayed in Britain and at the request of Queen Alexandra formed the Royal Balalaika Orchestra and devoted himself to the balalaika in England from 1909 onwards. As a result, the vogue for balalaika orchestras swept the British nation. Amongst the orchestras performing in Britain during that era were the Polytechnic Balalaika Orchestra of London, the Clifford Essex Balalaika Orchestra, Alice Gardiner's Balalaika Orchestra at Cheltenham (plate 22), Eric Smith's Balalaika Orchestra at Blackheath and the Bath Balalaika Orchestra. Since the balalaika had successfully migrated to Europe and had been accepted with positive enthusiasm, it was not long before a more significant impact would hit the USA:

> W.W. Andreef brought his Russian Balalaika Orchestra, which has recently been playing in London, to the Carnegie Hall last night, and the first appearance of this organization met with such flattering and well-deserved success that it is probable that it will be heard many times in this city during the current Winter. Mr Andreef has made a most interesting experiment in adapting the Russian peasant instruments for concert use. His orchestra is composed of twenty-five men, who play three instruments: the balalaika, which slightly resembles the guitar; the domra, which is more like the mandolin; and the dulcimer which may be compared to the harp.[13]

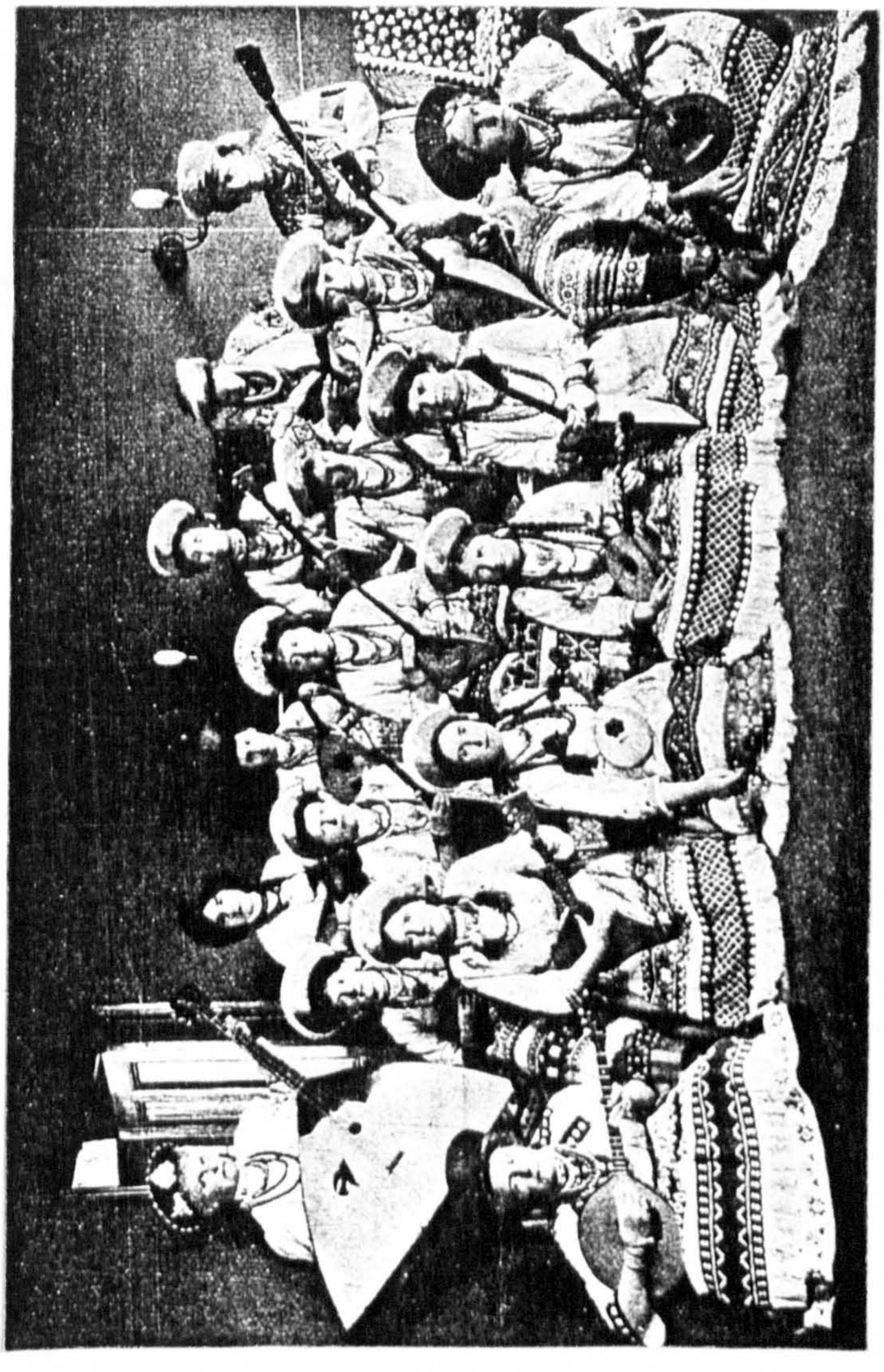


Plate 22

Photograph of The Cheltenham Balalaika Orchestra, UK. From the periodical *Banjo, Mandolin, Guitar* (BMG), 1912, p.117

The success of the 1910 tour is immeasurable in terms of its effect on the growth of balalaika orchestras in the USA. Andreyev's tour created widespread appeal and orchestras often sponsored by individuals, Russian Orthodox church groups, individuals of Russian ancestry or by afficionados of Russian culture, were organised everywhere. Once the timbral qualities of the orchestra had been given a positive response from audiences and critics alike, the musical climate was ready for the first Russian-American balalaikists and arrangers to introduce their ensembles to the American public in the years following the Andreyev tour. Given that the Andreyev tour represented the first substantial flourish of the balalaika on American soil, I shall now describe how the early American balalaika orchestras were formed and influenced. The history of the formation and organisation of the orchestras provides important data on personnel, geographical locations, performance repertoire and venues. This data not only gives a comparative view of these fledgling ensembles but assists in the understanding of how the two major sources of Russian-American arrangements in twentieth-century America evolved from the early ensembles' repertoires in the USA. Those sources, to be examined in detail in later chapters, are the Kasura Collection of Russian Folk Music and the Kutin Collection, both housed at the University of Illinois. Furthermore, such historical data also prepares the ground for describing the development of Russian-American arrangements and instrumentation. This will offer an indicator to assess which works or ensembles were precursors to Kasura's arrangements based on the traditional Russian folk orchestra and which favoured Kutin's emphasis on an expanded balalaika orchestral palette embracing conventional symphonic instruments.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE MUSICAL CLIMATE IN AMERICA AND THE FORMATION OF THE EARLY AMERICAN BALALAIKA ORCHESTRAS

It was during the nineteenth century that American composers of art music began to link their work with native American subjects. The Austrian-born Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781-1861) was especially attracted by the great American wilderness and the native American Indian and endeavoured to communicate images from these scenes in his musical works such as *The Ornithological Combat of Kings, or The Condor of the Andes and the Eagle of the Cordilleras* (1847), a descriptive work for orchestra. The infatuation with American romanticism and exoticism continued through the works of other contemporaries such as Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869). Opera too was featured as a part of the musical life of America with William Henry Fry's (1813-1864) composition of the first American opera with a libretto in English *Aurelia the Vestal* (1841) followed by *Leonora*

(1845) also with an English libretto. Amongst other composers regarded as leaders in the field of American music of the era were John Knowles Paine (1839-1906), Dudley Buck (1839-1909), Edward McDowell (1860-1908), Arthur W. Foote (1853-1937) and Horatio William Parker (1863-1919).

The musical climate in which the first Russian orchestra and indeed emigrés found themselves, however, was one largely wedded to popular music or the European art music favoured by the American upper classes. These elite Americans supported the influx of European art works to the USA but failed to recognise or encourage their home-grown American composers. Furthermore they failed to understand the significance of native material as an inspirational source in European or American art compositions:

> In a basic misunderstanding of European art music, the 'make America musical' initiators failed (or chose not) to recognize, it seems, the importance of native and popular elements as an inspirational source for the very composers they revered. Albeit persisting in a refined or distilled state, the vernacular music of European countries long had been incorporated consciously and unconsciously into European cultivated music. Not seeing this, many Americans also did not realize the significance of a vital intercourse between the cultivated and vernacular traditions in their own country.[14]

The more acceptable strand of American music to nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Americans, aside from European art music, was the popular music of the era. This was mainly initiated by the rise of comic opera and operetta from the 1870s onwards and the introduction of Negro musicals at the end of the nineteenth century. It was the first performance of Gilbert and Sullivan's HMS Pinafore in 1878 which stimulated the vogue for the comic opera alongside the meteoric success of John Philip Sousa's (1854-1932) compositions. Sousa's work, including forty operettas composed between 1882 and 1915 so captured the public's imagination that the operettas provided the popular songs that were to become the commercial products that would flood the American market as music for the masses. A growing industry built around songwriters, publishers, singers and later the phonograph rapidly emerged. Such a musical climate thriving on the works of European composers and its own popular music provided a perfect haven for the both the incoming classical art works and the popular folk songs and choral works of Russia.

Amongst the first American balalaika orchestras to emerge after the success of the Andreyev 1910 tour to the USA were the orchestras of Alexander N. Ivanoff (1893-1964) (plate 23) and Alexander A. Kirilloff (1888-1952/3) (plate 24), both founded in 1912 in New York

Plate 23

Portrait of A. Ivanoff. From the *Almanac of Russian Artists in America*, Vol.1, 1932, edited and published by Nicholas Martianoff and Mark A. Stern, NYC, p.239

Plate 24

Portrait of A. Kirilloff. From the *BDAA Newsletter* Vol.X, No.2, June 1987, p.11

City. The first American founder of a balalaika orchestra is reputed to be Lewis Spindler, a St. Louis footwear manufacturer. Spindler became acquainted with the balalaika some time around 1909 and his information on the instrument came via friends who had attended an Andreyev's first balalaika concert in London. Fired by enthusiasm Spindler ordered a balalaika from the Clifford Essex Company and sent abroad for an instruction manual and music. In his article 'The Balalaika and the Domra', Spindler reiterates, by illustration of his own learning experience, the aforementioned sentiments of A. Peresada and Andreyev on the accessibility of the instrument:

> Having personally played string instruments and made a special study of the banjo, I did not experience any difficulty in partially mastering the instrument which I found much easier than our familiar instruments.[15]

Furthermore Spindler's article prophesied the growth of the instrument in the USA:

> What it needs is little exploitation making it a 'fad' and some American ingenuity injected into it and I prophecy it will become as popular as the banjo, mandolin or guitar.[16]

As well as a certain ingenuity, Spindler also had the remarkable good fortune of knowing Andreyev personally. During the 1910 US tour of Andreyev's Imperial Court Orchestra he was able to visit Andreyev in St. Louis. In his article Spindler describes how Andreyev was 'agreeably surprised' to find him the first American playing the balalaika. Andreyev was so impressed that he made a gift to Spindler of a Nalimov/Andreyev balalaika and domra. Other instruments for the orchestra were subsequently received from Russia at the beginning of July 1911 and tutorage was supplied by W. Bologowsky, a balalaikist who had led regimental orchestras and had served an apprenticeship with the Imperial Court Orchestra. This mantle was later passed to the great Alexander Ivanoff who taught the arrangement of orchestral music as well as the fundamentals of balalaika technique. The initial support for Spindler's orchestra was rallied by the native Russians of St. Louis who, on hearing touring Russian orchestras, were overcome by nostalgia for the timbre and music of the instrument. The commitment of those who already played and those willing to learn, alongside securities of personal financial gifts, enabled Spindler to set up, manage and direct the ensemble of eleven.

It is during the year 1912, however, that the founding of the orchestras of Alexander Kirilloff and the Alexander Ivanoff (plates 25 and 26) provided the real catalyst for the growth of the

Plate 25

The Kirilloff Balalaika Orchestra c.1914, Cover photograph from the *BDAA Newsletter*, Vol.XIV, No.4, December 1991

Plate 26

The Ivanoff Balalaika Orchestra. Photograph from the inside back cover of the *Almanac of Russian Artists in America*, Vol.1, 1932, edited by Nicholas Martianoff and Mark A. Stern. NYC

emigré balalaika orchestras in the USA. Ivanoff had arrived in the USA in 1911 and as director of a large balalaika orchestra, he toured for three years. Born at Pavlovsk a suburb of St. Petersburg, he received his rudimentary music education from his school's regimental bandmaster. In 1896 he went to St. Petersburg and following a course of studies he entered the Imperial Conservatory of Music where he studied harmony and composition under Rimsky-Korsakoff. His career began with a position as an instructor of music and as orchestral conductor at military schools and he later became conductor and manager of Theo. Kosloff and Theo. Bekeffi of the Ballets Russes until the introduction of sound films offered new possibilities for him as a Musical and Technical Advisor in motion picture studios. The professional qualifications of Ivanoff and the arrival of his orchestra led to significant contributions to the development of balalaika orchestras in the USA. First, Ivanoff's impeccable music education placed him as an outstanding and acceptable professional within the music industry of the USA - especially with reference to his skill as an orchestrator and as a composer of the motion picture sound score. Second, Ivanoff had an orchestra that had toured the world, including the USA, where some of the players had defected. It is this latter fact that influenced the future growth of balalaika orchestras. Primarily, any growth of an orchestra depended on a lifecycle of successful formation, touring and defection or disbandment. Both the Ivanoff orchestra and the later Russian National Balalaika Orchestra formed in 1920s Berlin by Nicholas Silvestroff experienced this lifecycle and left behind groups of members who would either reform or rebuild ensembles around individuals. These disbanded emigré musicians, some of whom previously defected from Andreyev's orchestra, became the first building blocks that formed an important nucleus of Russian musicians in America and spawned a new era of Russian-American balalaika ensembles. These musicians were: Peter Biljo (1892-1963) Alexander Hramoff, Serge Larionoff (1896-1966), Constantin Poliansky (1901-), and Boris and Paul Sabatoffsky who left the North East of the USA to settle in Detroit where they gained in popularity. They were joined too by others, emigrés who came to America on their own: Nicholas Kovac (also known as Nicholas Kovacoff), Boris Maidonsky, Jack Raymond (1903-1997) and Alexander Alexandrovich Kirilloff.

Kirilloff, alongside Ivanoff, had also been an important lynchpin in focusing the expansion of the new movement geographically in the New York area. Born in 1888, also at Pavlovsk, he became a talented prima balalaika player who arrived in New York in 1909 where he recruited both bona fide emigré musicians, notably Yegorov and Antonovsky, as well as defectors from Andreyev's tours such as the balalaikist Paul Gureloff. The remainder were recruited and relocated from the disbanded Falzis Chicago Orchestra, an orchestra of

kantonisti (soldiers' sons) from military schools led by Falzis, a Czech-Bohemian and formerly a military conductor in Russia. The formation of Kirilloff's orchestra again supports the concept of growth encouraged by the disbandment of other ensembles:

I was then sent to Chicago to recruit some of the members of the disbanded Falzis group. This required some 'doing' for me to go there and persuade the Russian players of that group to come east to New York.[17]

The popularity of Kirilloff's orchestra led to performances across the country in Philadelphia, Washington and Newport as well as jointly with artists from the Metropolitan Opera House. In particular, performances with professional opera singers helped to cement a relationship that future balalaika ensembles were to enjoy with the established performers of the concert hall. For the audience this relationship by association assisted in the professionalisation of the ensembles.

By the end of 1912, however, Kirilloff's orchestra itself began to disintegrate as a result of unsuccessful tour engagements. Kiriloff became preoccupied with the task of rebuilding it using selected available instrumentalists in the New York City rather than an *ad hoc* group of disbanded individuals. Furthermore he sought to choose instrumentalists that would fit the requirements of a specific concert or recording engagement. It is important to note here that this process of selection tailored to a particular venue or recording contributed to how future ensembles would be constructed and organised. Also noteworthy is the diversity of venues at which the Kirilloff orchestra performed. These exemplified the ability of balalaika orchestras to span class and environment. For example, from the beginning of World War One onwards, the Kirilloff orchestra performed at concerts, charity functions, at the Red Cross, before wounded soldiers and in 1918 their prominence was duly recognised as they were asked to perform for President Wilson. During the same year the orchestra also began a long relationship with the Victor company and later produced many recordings on the RCA Victor Black Label. Kirilloff's engagement in 1928 by the National Broadcasting Company gave his orchestra additional exposure with appearances on stations WJZ and WEAF's programme *Troika Serenade*. Initially starting broadcasts with a group of six to eight men and ten singers, the group continued their radio work for twelve years under the names; Russian Balalaika Orchestra, Troika bells, Samovar Serenade, Gypsy Melodies, and Road to Romany.

THE DISSEMINATION OF THE NEW ENSEMBLES AND THE EMERGENCE OF ALEXANDER KUTIN AND WALTER KASURA

Geographically the new ensembles appeared in the major eastern cities - New York, Chicago and Detroit - where the greatest number of Russian emigrés formed communities and hoped to find employment (figure 2). For the new ensembles it was the record companies, restaurants and later radio which helped them to establish themselves. Ray Kane (b.1930), whose father was a chef at the Detroit *Russian Bear* restaurant, was a player with the Detroit Balalaika Orchestra from 1942 to 1962. Here he describes some of the first experiences of immigrant musicians:

> Within that group that came to New York, some stayed there, some moved on, I'm saying they couldn't speak the language, they couldn't do the jobs so they got into various restaurants or different trades. Most of these people were royalists, they weren't Soviets, they were anti-communists that's right. Most of them were educated people - could read and write - knew the classics and played on instruments besides the balalaika. So part of the splinter group stayed in New York and played there. Another part came to Detroit.[18]

New York City had several restaurant venues which, over the years, invited many of the new ensembles. The 'Old Russian Bear', 'The Yar', 'The Russian Inn', 'The Two Guitars', 'Balalaika', 'New Russian Bear', 'Russian Village' and 'Caucasian Eagle' restaurants were hosts to such ensembles as: the Peter Biljo Orchestra which included the key players Kostia Krummel, L. Schukin, Boris Maidonsky, Alex Khlopin and Alexis Hramoff; Constantin's (Costia) Poliansky's Russian Balalaika Orchestra; and Nicholas Kovacoff's Balalaika Orchestra (plate 27) which included such renowned performers as Sasha Chorney, Jack Raymond and Mark Selivan (1906-1971). Selivan in particular had immense experience, having played with the orchestras of Ivanoff, Kiriloff, Biljo, Sunia S. Samuels and George Mogiloff. Selivan became an important figure in the formation of further generations of balalaika ensembles through his encouragement of young players and his private balalaika teaching at Fraternal clubs or the YMCA.

Other major cities in the East such as Chicago and Detroit also had their restaurants and resident ensembles. The Sabbatoffsky Brothers (Boris and Paul) Russian Balalaika Orchestra conducted by E.L. Zwerkoff earned their popularity through performances at the 'Detroit Russian Bear' and 'Krechma' restaurants. In addition, Serge Larionoff left the Sabbatoffsky Brothers' Orchestra to become conductor and director of the Detroit Balalaika Orchestra

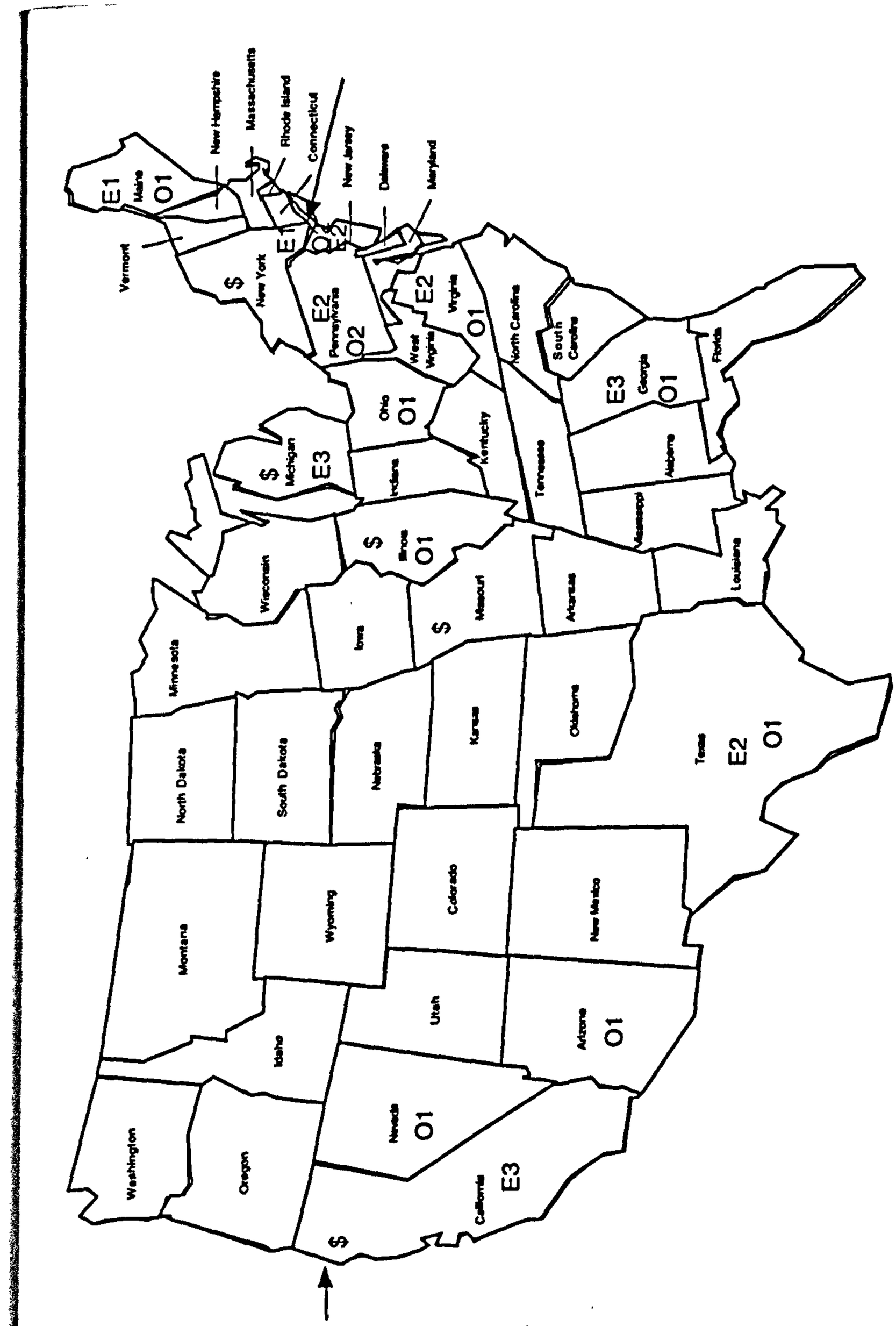


Figure 2

Map of the USA denoting geographical ports of immigration and the sites of the first resident balalaika orchestras

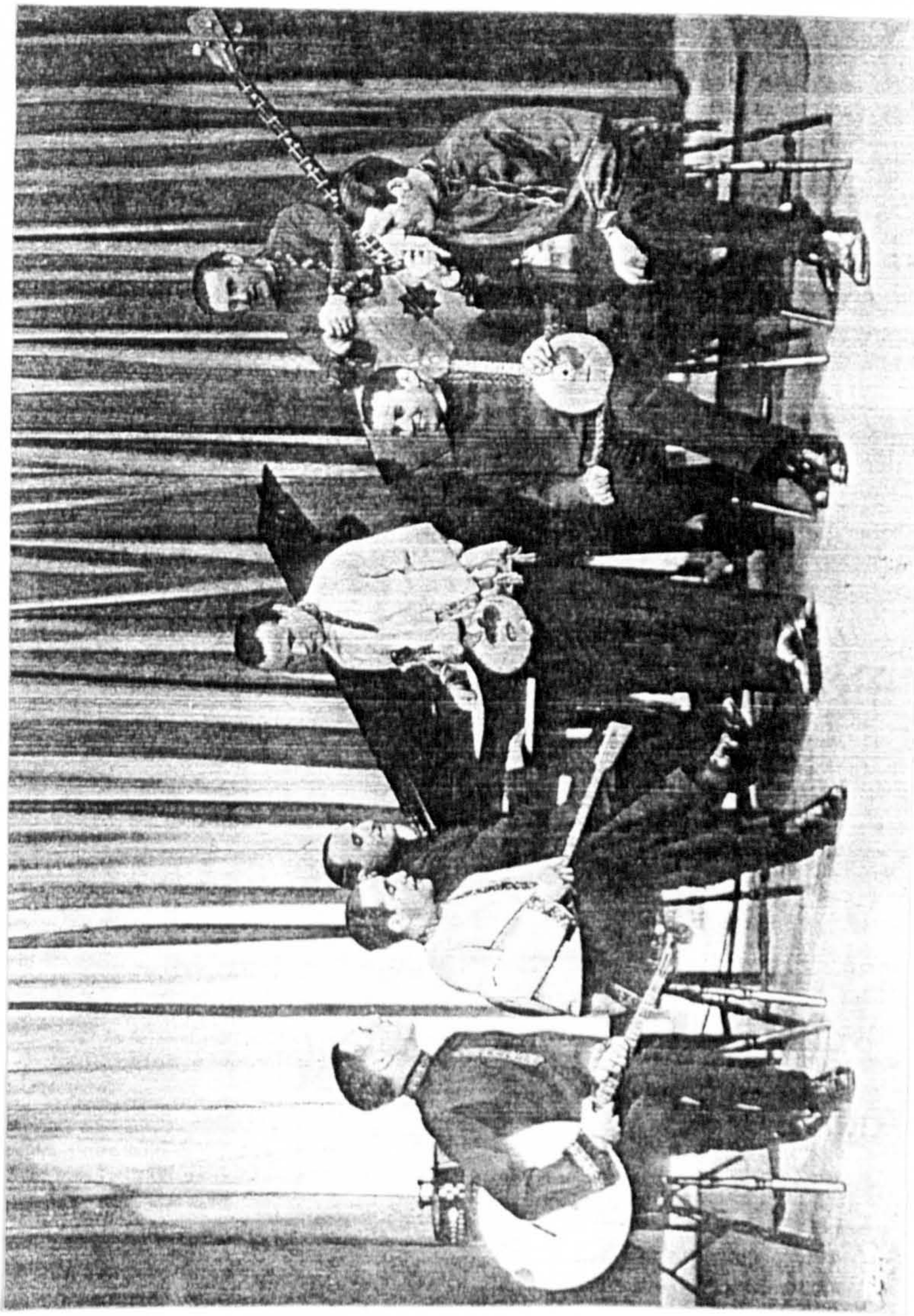


Plate 27

The Kovacoff Balalaika Orchestra. From the *Almanac of Russian Artists in America*, Vol.1, 1932, edited and published by Nicholas Martianoff and Mark A. Stern. NYC, P.245

(plate 28). Founded in 1926 it is the oldest continually active ensemble in the USA. The city of Philadelphia was also the home to one of the first balalaika orchestras. This was formed by Paul Frank Kauriga who led the orchestra to prominence. By the late 1930s it was performing around 200 concerts a year.

However, even though resident ensembles were installed in major cities a pattern of itinerancy often existed:

> They switched back and forth - the players that played in New York - and they switched instruments. They'd borrow an instrument and bring it to Detroit, they'd play for a couple of months or whatever and then they'd pawn the instrument - couldn't get back to New York - so the guys from New York came back here to, play - got the instrument and played with that group. That went on for a number of years.[19]

In terms of the West coast of the USA, it too experienced the creation of small scale ensembles and this was largely due to the efforts of the balalaika soloist Alexander Dmitrievich Dobrohotoff (1889-1938) who was considered to be one of the great Russian doyens of the time. Dobrohotoff had acquired an immense following as a result of the remarkable technique he acquired under the influence of V.V. Andreyev and the virtuoso B.S. Troyanovsky (1883-1951) and this he had fully exploited during his performance experience with Andreyev's Great Russian Imperial Orchestra in England. In San Francisco he began to organise a fifteen-man ensemble made up of emigrés from Russian aristocratic families and due to a dearth of instruments, built every instrument himself. The realisation, however, that major growth could only be achieved in locations that spawned more emigré performers and instruments, prompted his ambitions eastwards:

> We shall go East from here and I hope after a while to have an orchestra of symphonic size with which I shall make a concert tour.[20]

At some point during the Depression Dobrohotoff arrived in Chicago where in one of the rooms at the Russian Club he began to give balalaika lessons to young people.

To add to the wealth of balalaika orchestras, arrangers and conductors at the end of the twenties and early thirties, two prominent figures in the field of Russian music in America began their careers. These were Alexander Kutin (1899-1985) (plate 29) and Walter J. Kasura (1919-1983) (plate 30). Both these masters of Russian music are particularly

Plate 28

The Detroit Balalaika Orchestra. Front cover of the *BDAA Newsletter*, Vol.ix, No.4, December 1986

Plate 29

Portrait of Alexander Kutin. Photographed by M. Lasser, NYC.

Courtesy of Mrs. Rita Kutin

Plate 30

Portrait of Walter J. Kasura. Courtesy of the Kasura family

significant to this study since it is through some of their arrangements housed in the special collection at the University of Illinois, that I intend to further examine the development of the music of these Russian-Americans in the USA.

Kutin was born in the village of Jiromir near the Ukraine's capital Kiev. He was born into an environment where music was performed and in a period when the balalaika in Russia was at a height of popularity. At the age of ten and without the knowledge of his parents he secretly learned the balalaika from the brother of a local shoemaker. His music education continued with guitar lessons from his aunt since his family, on hearing the young balalaikist, were unable to find funds for buying an instrument.

In 1919 Kutin moved to Germany in the aftermath of the political upheavals following the First World War. Within his barracks he took part in musical activities and began slowly to form a balalaika orchestra. Kutin's prima balalaika expertise was later recognised by the conductor E.L. Zverkoff who led a touring balalaika orchestra based in Germany. Kutin was hired and duly switched to the vacant seat of alto balalaika joining the orchestra on tours across Europe and later to their first overseas venues in South America. Like others before him the balalaika had assisted his migration to the New World. After the orchestra's tour of Argentina, the famous Russian musician Nicholas Sylvestro was offered and accepted the leadership of the orchestra. Under his direction the orchestra went from strength to strength until financial improprieties within the management section of the orchestra led to the horns of a dilemma - to continue a successful tour on little or no financial backing or accept lucrative employment on the vaudeville circuits in the USA. Although the choice of the latter not only eventually disbanded the orchestra, it brought Kutin to the Manhattan music scene and it was here that Kutin began to build his new ensemble.

Kutin's experience and diversity enabled him to achieve prominence in a variety of venues in Manhattan. He was able to play balalaika for several cabaret ensembles, do radio work with orchestras and set up his own small group of players to perform in restaurants. It was not until the late thirties, however, after an unsuccessful marriage and a tedious factory job that Kutin revisited his first love of music and founded a group of musicians for which he had the vision of expanding into a large orchestra. Kutin realised his vision and the first concert of the Russian Balalaika Musical Society, later renamed in 1946 the Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra, was given in 1938 at Wren Public School, Manhattan. His landmark contribution, however, to the music of Russian-Americans occurred in the post World War Two years as

he began to recruit conventional orchestral instruments into the orchestra. This was partly due to the loss of members after the war but partly to Kutin's desire to experiment and expand his timbral palette. It is the success of this mix of Russian instruments and conventional orchestral instruments that will provide material for investigation later in this dissertation.

The second figure who will become significant to this study was barely into his teens when Kutin was performing in Manhattan. Walter J. Kasura was the son of emigré parents who raised him in the Russian community in Manhattan. Walter's father was secretary of the Anton Chekov Society who sponsored a Russian folk orchestra in which Kasura learned to play the balalaika whilst observing some of the older generation who taught the children. In the thirties Kasura left the orchestra and joined the semi-professional Mark Selivan Balalaika Orchestra and was later championed by Peter Biljo one of the most popular Russian musicians of that decade (plate 31). Biljo arranged for Kasura to have formal composition and arranging lessons with the legendary balalaika orchestra leader Alexander Ivanoff. Kasura's path after his initial launch into musical life followed a similar pattern to Kutin's in that Kasura also opted at this time for employment that would provide a regular income rather than the insecurity often offered by the music profession. Kasura's career at the Guardian Life Insurance Company before and after his military service in World War Two occupied most of his working life as he climbed the company to become Assistant Vice President and Counsel for the company. It is therefore a remarkable testament to the motivation and dedication of Walter Kasura that in addition to this demanding career he continued in his spare time with his work as a performer, arranger, conductor, teacher and author. Of her father's dedication to the balalaika Sandy Kasura elaborates:

> You could also be the window washer, it didn't make any difference what you did. If you wanted to learn, you didn't have to be Russian. You could be Scottish or Irish. You want to learn the Russian folk music, come on over, I'll show you, I'll teach you, I'll help you with learning, with the instrument, what you need to know.[21]

It is in his contribution as a collector of all genres of Russian folk music, however, that his achievements gain greater stature. Kasura began collecting music in the thirties when he realised that the music brought over to the USA by refugees was simply being discarded as junk. He diligently repaired and corrected manuscripts and began to build the largest collection of Russian and Russian-American music in the USA. It is with this resource that he has enabled and perpetuated the proper study of arrangements for

Plate 31

Walter J. Kasura (seated on floor, front row, extreme right) with ensemble. photographed by Raphael, NYC. Courtesy of the Kasura family

balalaika orchestras. Later in this chapter I shall discuss Kasura's input to the growth of the Balalaika and Domra Society of New York and the Balalaika and Domra Association of America, but it is particularly his legacy of the vast collection of Russian music known as the Kasura Collection, housed at the University of Illinois, which will allow this study to investigate the migration of the balalaika and its music to the USA in a full and detailed way. First, however, it is necessary to address the comparative situation in the USSR during the era of the USA's early balalaika ensembles. This is essential to determine whether any common features occurred in developments of the ensembles in the East and West and whether Russian orchestras exerted a particular influence on the fledgling American ensembles.

A COMPARISON OF THE RELATIVE GROWTH OF BALALAIKA ORCHESTRAS IN THE USA AND THE USSR

It was whilst small pockets of Russian emigré musicians were setting up ensembles across the USA with diverse repertoires of folk song, art works and arrangements of popular works, that two clear strands of balalaika material continued their development in Russia. Firstly, performances emerging from the classical repertoire and secondly, works which emerged from the traditions of Russian folk song. Primarily two performer/arrangers became responsible for this divergence. The first, Boris Sergeyevich Troyanovsky, a soloist in Andreyev's orchestra between 1904 and 1911, was attributed with the creation of a professional concert repertoire which mainly included arrangements of Russian folk songs. Troyanovsky's knowledge of the Russian folk song and his attention to detail enabled him to develop his own folk song repertoire for the balalaika. This accommodated professional performance techniques and the dynamic and expressive peculiarities of the instrument.

At the other end of the spectrum was N.P. Osipov (1901-1945). Osipov became conductor/director of the Andreyev Great Russian Orchestra which was reformed after Andreyev's death. The importance of the orchestra was duly recognised by the Soviet government and renamed the State Russian Orchestra before acquiring its later title of the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra. Osipov, a balalaika virtuoso, not only expanded the orchestral range by adding accordions, pipes and horns but also promoted classically based compositions for the balalaika. His tours of this repertoire in the USSR between 1930-1934 won over a large listening audience. It was the remarkable work of the aforementioned balalaikist Dobrohotoff that influenced Osipov's personal approach to modernising both

performance practices and repertoire with the transference of works from the classical domain into the balalaika repertoire. A. Peresada, in his book, *Balalaika* elaborates on the popularity of the arrangements of Dobrohotoff, and Paul Karnow, in discussing Michael Goldstein's book *Mikhail Ignatieff und die Balalaika*, indicates the volume of material that Dobrohotoff was responsible for introducing to the balalaika repertoire:

> Not limiting his repertoire only by folk songs and dances he successfully selected popular compositions from classical heritage, found the corresponding artistic and expressive means to interpret their contents.[22]

In Michael Goldstein's book *Mikhail Ignatieff und die Balalaika*, a photograph is shown of a publication by Yuliy Henrikh Zimmerman entitled *Repertoir Solista, Wibor P'yes Dlya Balalaika s Fortepiano*. A close study of this photograph reveals a remarkable list of balalaika musical literature. Forty-six pieces are listed by various composers along with their arrangers. Out of a total of 46 pieces listed, Dobrohotoff arranged 33 of them.[23]

Osipov not only searched for compositions that would be suitable for easy and direct transfer to the balalaika but in addition he also made his own arrangements of the works of Russian and non-Russian composers who had written for conventional symphonic instruments. This commitment to the expansion of the instrument's repertoire coupled with the attempt to create a more varied diet of material eased the balalaika's passage into the classical music concert environment. Furthermore, this encouraged composers and performers to collaborate in evaluating the new technical and dynamic demands required of the instrument and this in turn would encourage the composition of new works for the instrument.

As the repertoire of the balalaika expanded greater numbers of balalaikists were found in the concert halls of Moscow and Leningrad in the twenties and early thirties. According to A. Peresada's book *Balalaika*, much of the repertoire of this time was now heavily weighted to art works:

> The programme of K. L. Planson's performance contained the following works: *The Sixth Hungarian Rhapsody* by F. Liszt; *Hungarian Caprice* by F. Kreisler; etude *Hunting* by N. Paganini; and the other compositions of Russian and foreign composers (in K. Planson's arrangement and treatment).[24]

Dependent on this growing repertoire were the thousands of collectives of amateur and professional musicians who devoted themselves to mastering the art of the balalaika. The pursuit for new music became apparent in both performance programmes and the choice of transcribed repertoire. This is best illustrated by a description by the author Algernon Rose of the repertoire content of the Rode Capelle ensemble during their four and a half years performing before the Russian public:

> Adaptations of operas, arrangements of Liszt's rhapsodies, &c., are included in the programme, the chief item of which are some twenty pot pourris of Russian airs. Such Russian melodies as *The Night* are much beloved, and certain tunes by Glinka, Tschaikowski, Vertoffski, Lvoff, and other well-known native musicans are popular.[25]

It is essential to note here that the diverging strands of repertoire - namely folk material and classical art works continued to dilineate the roles of the instrument in musical life. On the one hand the balalaika was considered the instrument of professional solo and virtuosic content. On the other hand, it maintained something of its ethnic roots embroidered in folklore. Performers or composers who wrote for the instrument composed either original compositions and arrangements based on Russian folk songs (Troyanovsky for instance) or adaptations of art works which attempted to display virtuosity and professionalise the instrument. Among this latter school are P.Necheporenko, N. Nekrasov and A. Tikhonov, who included in their repertoires transcriptions of some of the works of Glinka, Liszt, Mozart, Tchaikovsky and contemporary Soviet composers, as well as their own compositions specifically for the balalaika.

In particular the growth of repertoire expanded during the thirties when the balalaika came of age as a solo instrument in the orchestral *oeuvre* - thus prompting the composition of concertos for the instrument. Amongst the first, S.N. Vasilenko's (1872-1956) concerto was built on thematic material from Russian folk songs and performed by Osipov on 28 May 1930. Vasilenko conceived the work along formulaic classical lines. This work demanded all the techniques available to a professional player and became the rubric for the balalaika's credibility as a professional instrument within the orchestra. An example of the expanded balalaika technique which served such classical works may be noted in the highly decorative cadenza of the first movement reproduced here (manuscript example 6).

Manuscript Example 6

S.N. Vasilenko, *Concerto for Balalaika and Orchestra*, Universal Edition,

1932, p.17, bar 402

Manuscript Example 6 contd

S.N. Vasilenko, *Concerto for Balalaika and Orchestra*, Universal Edition,

1932, p.17, bar 402

The reduced score for balalaika and piano illustrating instrumental entries is included in appendix 1 of this dissertation. The concerto became a landmark in the creation of the new balalaika repertoire:

This concert (concerto) opens a new page in balalaika history of a great principal importance. Vasilenko's mastery found a full equivalent in Osipov's mastery ... the performance of balalaika together with Vasilenko's concert (concerto) was an examination of this instrument for academic maturity. The examine (exam) was successfully passed due to the fact that great masters applied their efforts to this instrument. A further advancement of balalaika depends not only on the very instrument, but on the hands which will be applied to it.[26]

Such a work as the Vasilenko concerto, as interpreted by Osipov, may be compared with V. Gorodovskaya's arrangement of the folk song *Kalinka*. This arrangement, also performed as part of the repertoire of the Osipov orchestra, demonstrates the more traditional unembellished material and thus illustrates the polarities of the repertoire. The arrangement of *Kalinka* may be found in appendix 1 of this dissertation.

Interestingly, however, some orchestral works incorporating balalaika did not fully realise their potential. Contradictions arose in the discussion of how the technical and expressive possibilities of the balalaika might merge with structural aspects of the actual compositional arrangement itself. This was apparent in another Russian work of the thirties, M.M. Ippolitov-Ivanov's (1859-1935) *Fantaziya (Fantasia)* for balalaika and orchestra which received its premiere in 1933. The composition, whilst appealing to both critic and general public alike, had sections of the arrangement which did not employ the traditional methods of writing for balalaika. The work simply attempted to transplant symphonic string technique to the balalaika.

There is specially distinctly displayed the principle of material arrangement typical to the violin, the violoncello and other concerts (concertos?) which naturally distinguishes fantasia from Balalaika performance that had already become traditional. In the composition one can often meet the moments where balalaika comes into contradiction with its own acoustic and dynamic possibilities.[27]

The fantasia lost the attention of soloists as they battled to accommodate balalaika performance practices into a symphonic orchestration which created no coherent language for the timbral range and execution of the instrument. Peresada mentions that the work gradually became so uncharacteristic for the instrument that it is currently performed by

orchestras of folk instruments omitting the balalaika. The production of unsatisfactory compositions versus those that demanded only the highest degree of professional skill meant that the expansion of balalaika repertoire could only continue if composers allowed for a compositional method based on simple and sparse instrumental arrangements. This would allow the balalaika to display with clarity the full compass of its performance capabilities and reinforce its proper solo position against symphonic or folk instrumental timbres. This approach to arrangements, as previously adopted by Andreyev, indicated a continued preference for simple orchestration in contrast to Ippolitov-Ivanov's and Vasilenko's work:

> Andreyev's parts being relatively simple, easy to understand and remember found its performers among numerous amateurs and a small group of professionals the performing level of whom was not so high. Vasilenko and Ippolitov-Ivanov's compositions could be performed only by the professional players.[28]

The problems, however, associated with a manifestly simple approach to arrangements meant that although a greater popularisation of the instrument was possible, the professional acceptance of the instrument in the concert hall demanded many more competent and challenging works founded on the principles of professional performance practice.

Clearly most of the theoretical and practical problems associated with the role of the balalaika in art works were being tackled on a regular basis in the USSR. For the USA climate, however, ensembles and orchestras were still finding their feet. The prospect of large-scale balalaika orchestras playing major art works in concert environments was still a hope for the future. However, in contrast to the surge in specially composed concert works in the USSR, the USA progressed in the direction of the dissemination of extant balalaika music through the mediums of disc and radio. It is relevant here to describe the dissemination of this music by the broadcast media to determine how this assisted the development of the Russian-American ensembles.

THE GROWTH OF THE RECORDING INDUSTRY IN THE USA AND ITS EFFECT ON THE EARLY BALALAIKA ORCHESTRAS IN THE USA

One method of following the continuing growth of balalaika music and ensembles in the USA is to examine the production of early foreign language or ethnic music recordings in America. This information gives some indication of not only the types of ensembles that recorded but the popularity of their music based on the number of discs purchased.

Amongst the mass of new technology produced at the turn of the twentieth century, the phonograph became one of the most popular purchases since it could be marketed economically and in great quantity. Although small recording companies emerged in the 1890s, only three companies became the key players in the pressing of recordings and the production of phonographs in the USA. These were the Columbia Phonograph Company founded in Washington in 1889, The Edison National Phonograph Company founded in 1896 and the Victor Talking Machine Company in 1901. These companies dominated the recording industry well into the early twenties and in 1925 Victor and Columbia achieved prime status when they became the licensees of a new piece of technology produced by Western Electric - an electrical recording technique that would make existing reproduction methods and the acoustic horn obsolete.

At the beginning of the century the recording industry was mainly situated around the New York area where the largest concentration of immigrants was to be found. It was for these immigrants that the invention of the phonograph provided something more than entertainment:

> To the person who spoke another language the phonograph assumed a more important role. In a country with strange customs and values, where other people spoke an unfamiliar language, a phonograph could and did provide a means of emotional retreat to one's homeland. Records of familiar songs reinforced traditional values and an immigrant's sense of self worth.[29]

The key to success for the recording companies was twofold. Firstly, they were able to record indigenous musics which sold on to audiences abroad and secondly they identified markets orientated around foreign communities in the USA and sold to those communities their own indigenous musics. Such sales on home territory also maximised profit for the companies since cheap imported masters of recordings made abroad were often used. The by-product of such marketing was an emerging interest in immigrant performers and subsequently an increased demand for ethnic recordings both at home and abroad. The growth of this business can be measured to some extent by the output of The Gramophone Company, the sister company of the Victor Talking Machine Company based in the UK. Even as early as 1905 the Gramophone Company alongside Victor, had successfully recorded material in Asia and Europe as well as South America and the Caribbean. Although other companies, specifically European ones, attempted to extend their share of international sales, the expansion of the major three companies worldwide became global by 1907. It was only in the 1920s that serious competition to the foreign music field challenged the major

companies. These companies included Brunswick, Emerson, Gennett, Pathe, Plaza (Banner), and Vocalion.

Based on the success of the marketing approach to ethnic recordings, the sales of phonographs and records was rapid. In 1909 the Columbia Phonograph Company gave this advice to its dealers:

> Remember that in all large cities and in most towns there are sections where people of one nationality or another congregate in 'colonies'. Most of these people keep up the habits and prefer to speak the language of the old country. Speak to them in their own tongue, if you can, and see their faces light up with a smile that linger and hear the streak of language they will give you in reply. To these people RECORDS IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE have an irresistible attraction, and they will buy them readily.[30]

The growth of domestic American-ethnic talent progressively accelerated between 1914-1918 when European produced master discs became unavailable and companies became increasingly dependent on finding home-grown talent amongst their immigrant communities. Furthermore, production was enhanced by the demand for ethnic releases as immigrants from countries affected by both world wars required some sustenance from their cultural motherland. This they found in their indigenous musics:

> The immense stirring of patriotic fever due to the European war has given an impetus to the sale of Columbia records of foreign music which is truly phenomenal.[31]

This sustained interest in the foreign music field grew alongside the continued expansion of the recording companies in the early twentieth century and may be measured, for instance, by the Columbia catalogue. Between 1908 and 1923 Columbia released 5000 domestic records in their 'A' catalog series against 6000 foreign records in their 'E' series.[32]

The aim of companies to produce substantial amounts of ethnic recordings and the success of the sales of foreign discs may be measured by the following extract:

> Aside from the sales possibilities among the entire record-buying population there are enough foreign born and their descendants in this country to insure a handsome profit by selling these records only to those for whom they were originally intended. There is scarcely a dealer to-day in whose territory there are not some foreign born. As the Victor bulletin points out, there are over 183,700 Lithuanians

in eighteen of the principal cities of the United States - Chicago being the principal haven with over 87,000 of this race making their homes there. Lithuanians are good record customers, and for a dealer to neglect the sales possibilities of this nationality or of any nationality is to overlook a sure source of profit.[33]

CATEGORIES OF MUSIC RECORDED AS AN INDICATOR OF THE POPULARITY OF PARTICULAR GENRES

To accurately identify the recordings released prior to 1920, reference to the system of numbering used by the companies to categorise different musics must be employed. Recordings of an ethnic nature, as other categories, were for instance, given number blocks for easy identification by the retailer and the customer.

Of the 35 record company labels listed in Richard K. Spottswood's *Ethnic music on Records: A discography of Ethnic Recordings produced in the United States*,[34] and the many major labels and cheaper subsidiary labels noted by Pekka Gronow in the appendix for '*A Checklist of 78rpm Foreign-Language Records*',[35] the following table represents those companies actively involved in producing Russian material either on cylinder or disc.

Due to differences in Gronow's and Spottswood's tables where start or end numbers of blocks of discs are concerned, I have selected the smaller start number and the higher end number for the blocks. Furthermore as we shall note later, some discs that were released do not fall into the block numbering of those tables. One can best display the blocks of recordings released by companies who included Russian and Ukrainian music, by constructing a table of the Russian material released on cylinder or disc between 1901 and 1952 (figure 3). For the purposes of linguistic differences, the Russian listings are placed in a different category to Ukrainian recordings in Gronow's and Spottswood's tables. For my purposes I include Ukrainian music within the term Russian.

It should be noted that the labels mentioned, among others, issued domestic recordings including popular and classical releases as well as their foreign catalogue. The chart demonstrates the output of Russian material across the companies as a whole. The question

COMPANY	SERIES BLOCK NOS	TYPE 78rpm	NATIONALITY	YEARS RELEASED
Brunswick	59000 - 59079	10"	Russian-Ukrainian	1927-28
Columbia	31200 - 31206	Cylinders	Russian	1901
	20000-F - 20380-F	10"	Russian	1923-52
	27000-F - 27403-F	10"	Ukrainian	1923-41
	64000-F - 64008-F	12"	Russian	1920
	70000-F - 70019-F	12"	Ukrainian	1925-31
Edison	65500 - 65511	10" vertical cut	Russian-Ukrainian	1920-24
Emerson	1500 -	9" and 10"	Russian	1918-24
Odeon-Okeh	15001 - 15125	10"	Russian	1921-30
(Odeon = European	81001	12"	Russian	1928
recording : Okeh =	15501 - 15609	10"	Ukrainian	c.1921-30
US recording)	81501	12"	Ukrainian	1929
Pathé	3000 -	10"	Russian	c.1917
RCA *	26 - 5001-5041	10"	Russian-Ukrainian	1942-1950s
Victor	26 - 5001-5045		Russian-Ukrainian	1945
	V21000 - V21142	10"	Russian-Ukrainian	1929-42
	V71000 - V71021	12"	Russian-Ukrainian	1929-30
Zonophone	6000	10"	Russian	

* October 1942, Victor label replaced with RCA label with revised numerical systems. This entry may simply represent a re-issue of 26-5001, 1945, under Victor

Figure 3

Table of companies releasing Russian material on cylinder or disc 1901-1952

of which preferred genres of Russian music record companies recorded and distributed can be accessed by locating the listing of performers and recordings in Spottswood's *Discography of Ethnic Recordings*. This document surveys ethnic recordings made between 1893 and 1942. Post 1942 listings are undocumented for the following reasons: recordings were halted for two years after July 1942 due to a Members of the American Federation of Musicians strike and the introduction of the 45rpm disc by 1952 alongside the associated costs of remastering material meant that many recordings ceased with the demise of the 78rpm. The years mapped by Spottswood, however, give a clear picture of the growth of Russian music on the 78rpm disc. This is despite the many gaps that may occur in the logging of such a detailed discography since many documents from recording sessions or record company catalogues are invariably lost over the years.

If one collates the Spottswood discography and divides it into genres of Russian music, a clearer picture emerges of how recorded Russian music acquired its audience throughout the first part of the twentieth century. In order to produce a graph of the swings of popularity in the production of such recordings one must assemble categories of material. For the purposes of my graph I have chosen to place material into three categories:

1. Vocal - accompanied and unaccompanied including spoken text and whistling;

2. Balalaika and domra music of a solo, ensemble or orchestral nature. Within this category I have also included any works in the vocal category that had balalaika accompaniment;

3. Instrumental music of a solo, ensemble or orchestral nature. Within this category I have attempted to place all instrumental scores which use conventional orchestral instruments. Many of Spottswood's entries give such details of instrumentation. Many, however, do not. In these instances I have used my professional judgement alongside the lack of detailed information on instrumentation and have counted these pieces within the category of those using conventional symphonic instruments.

In counting the performances recorded I have used the original matrix numbers of each performance listed by Spottswood. This is the number given to each wax recording from which a final recording was produced. I have included, within my count, all recorded and rejected recordings made by the record company. This seemed relevant since it demonstrated

the intention of the company to produce such recordings and acted as an indicator of the current vogue for listeners. I have, however, omitted any test or trial recordings. Here I refer the reader to the Graph of Recordings 1899-1942 of vocal, instrumental music and instrumental music featuring or including balalaikas and domras (figure 4).

The graph clearly indicates a hierarchy of material produced during the period 1899-1942. Pre-eminent is vocal material, followed by balalaika material and then conventional instrumental material. The good start to the vocal mapping illustrates the recording industry's initial interest in the voice as a primary source for recording and from 1910 onwards there are great popularity swings for the production of vocal material. The balalaika material beginning at 1912 also follows a similar pattern illustrating an increased supply and demand situation occurring around the late twenties. The mapping of conventional instrumental material denotes a similar pattern to the balalaika line, peaking again in the late twenties. There are also obvious gaps within the graph which are the results of socio-economic factors. The area around 1907-1908, for example, may represent uncertainty about developing technologies as the double sided disc was introduced in 1908. The tremendous trough throughout the thirties is indicative of the American depression which hit producers and performers as well as consumers. Columbia, for instance, declared bankruptcy as early as 1923, Edison in 1929 and in the same year Victor was sold off to RCA. The most demonstrative peaks on the graph, however, appear in the twenties. The increased output was not only fuelled by demand, and later by radio, but by a new accessibility to musical arrangements and instruments. This was largely assisted by the organisation of the Russian Music Company which was in business from 1920 to the late 1930s. Founded in New York City by Alexander Ivanoff Jack Raymond and I. Czibulsky, the company stocked a large library of popular and semi-classical music. Of fundamental significance to the figures of growth during this period was the fact that the company carried manuscript copies of orchestrations for balalaika orchestras as well as a collection of instruments from the balalaika and domra families.

In 1938 a small increase on the graph is again visible, probably due to initial supplies of discs for use in the jukebox, whilst the tailing off at 1942 marks two events that occurred during the early forties. First, the shortage of materials due to the war effort restricted the supply of shellac and second the general strike of the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) led by James Caesar Petrillo brought the industry to a standstill. The strike

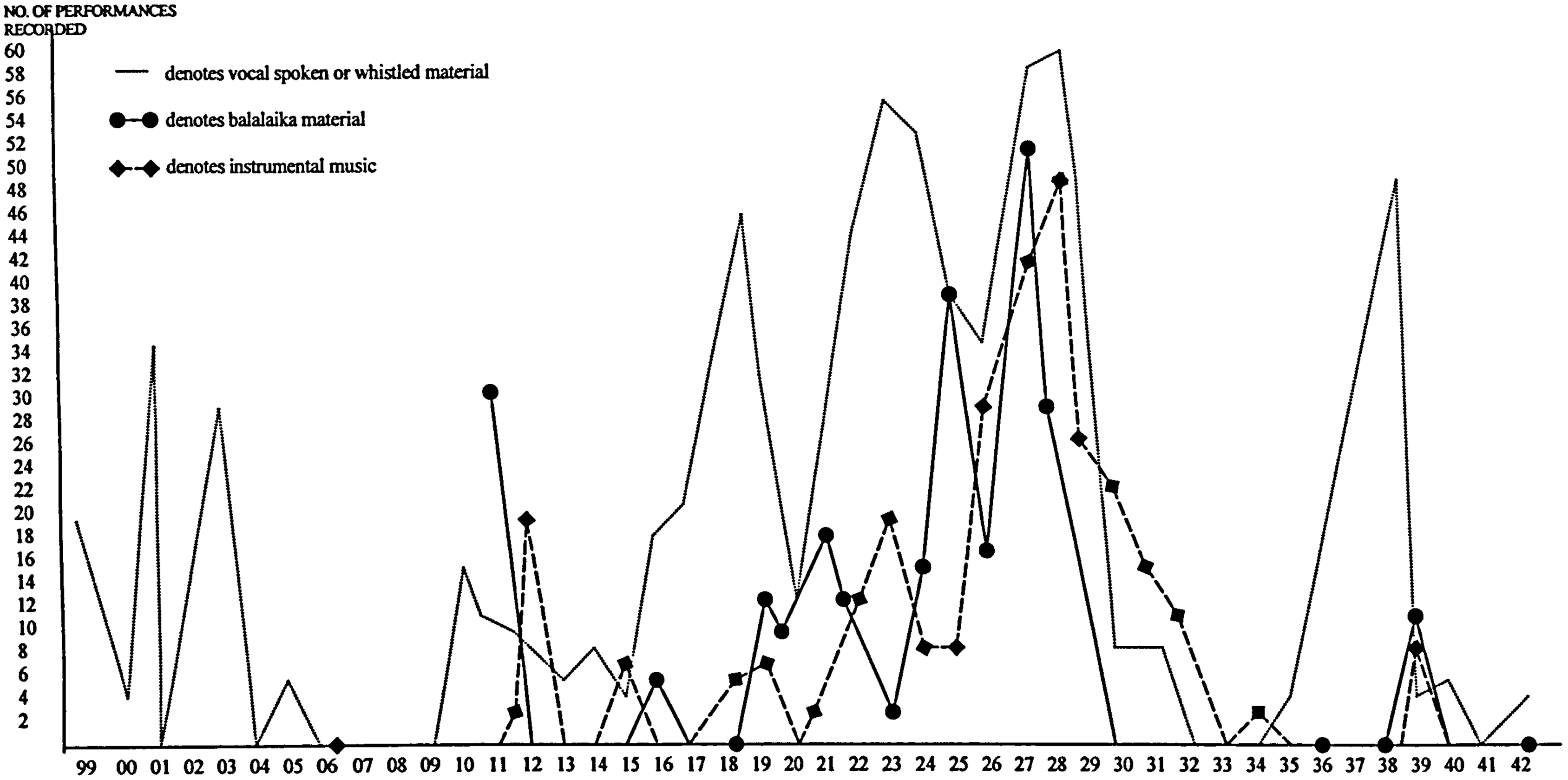


Figure 4

Graph of material produced during the period 1899-1942 denoting the popularity of certain genres of recorded material

imposed a ban on recording after 31 July 1942 and cited amongst its complaints the decision of broadcasters to use discs rather than session recordings and the use of the jukebox in preference to live or newly recorded material. 400,000 jukeboxes were in use by 1942.

Initially record companies were not severely affected since they depended on a backlog of recorded material awaiting release. By 1944, however, the ban had worn down the record companies who realised they must sing for their supper and both Columbia and Victor signed agreements in 1944 to resume recording contracts under Petrillo's terms. By the mid forties, however, attention was now diverted to the recording of major art works in the classical repertoire and by the late forties and early fifties sales of this category had surpassed even the most optimistic predictions of profit. The American popular repertoire also came to the foreground, especially with the emergence in 1954 of the 45rpm disc, which became the most acceptable format to carry the popular music of the era. The emphasis on such a popular and classical catalogue, the conflicts of developing technologies, and the cold war years subsequently decreased the supply of Russian material on disc. Companies lost interest in ethnic material and the production of foreign material subsided.

THE EFFECT OF RADIO ON THE EARLY BALALAIKA ENSEMBLES AND HOW IT POPULARISED REPERTOIRE

It was radio that gained a greater popularity than disc. Firstly, it offered electronic amplification, which records were yet to achieve, and even when recording technology developed the same level of fidelity for discs it was years before hardware to play such discs could be commercially and cheaply available to the general public. Secondly, radio was particularly directed at a mainstream audience who would be given access to a perpetuating supply of music without continued purchasing. The bias therefore to popular works meant that the most accessible music of the era would be disseminated in the hope of capturing as broad an audience as possible. In terms of Russian recordings and other ethnic material which fell into minority categories, radio did little damage. Minority and specialist groups always provided the demand for a product closely associated to their cultural heritage and the peaks on the graph during the twenties help to illustrate a continual and even enhanced demand for such material.

For the management or conductors of balalaika orchestras who performed for radio there were, however, challenges and difficulties in competing with rival orchestras for the precious

airtime of radio. By 1928 artists of all kinds strongly competed for such work and often for no remuneration. It was simply a battle where those who gained exposure to the new medium increased their audience potential. One of the most popular radio programmes of the late twenties, when recordings of Russian music hit their peak, was *Around the Samovar*, illustrated here with copies of the original 1929 scripts (document 2). *Around the Samovar* featured Peter Biljo's Balalaika Orchestra and Soloists. The show's radio scripts of 1929 display a repertoire primarily made up of ballads, gypsy songs, popular Russian dances for orchestra, arrangements of Russian and European art music, and violin solos. Predominant is the use of the baritone or soprano vocalist accompanied by orchestra.

It was radio especially that became an indicator of how successfully Russian music, both traditional and classically adapted, entered the broadcast market. As previously mentioned, the appetite of the medium was for both art music and popular music which resulted in a proliferation of mainly American material which required constant replacement. Similarly, though in the context of minority musics, the increased demand for Russian-American material meant that Russian-Americans had to provide more than just the replays of well known Russian songs. It was as a result of the medium's appetite that the amount of airtime created space for other genres of Russian music including the pot-pourri style of programming familiar in the typical Russian balalaika orchestra concert programmes that musical directors such as Walter J. Kasura and Alexander Kutin would later perfect. It is their approach to programming, amongst others, that will be discussed later in Chapter 3. Supporting the vogue, however, for the varied programmes of material found in such radio shows as *Around the Samovar* is *The Detroit News* of 27 July 1926 which reviews a performance by the Russian Balalaika Orchestra given before a radio audience on station WWJ. The programme consisted of a rustic Russian hymn, folk music played on native instruments, songs featuring the soloist I.N. Izmailov, dance songs and Tchaikovsky's *In Church*. The view that Russian and non-Russian classical music were favoured by the listening public is supported by a comment placed in the biographical details of the Nicholas Kovacoff Balalaika Orchestra:

> The fact that classical music is still appreciated by the public in this age of Jazz is demonstrated by the many letters which the orchestra has received on their recent engagement at the 'New Russian Bear Restaurant' and at the Roxy Theatre.[36]

Whether the trend truly leaned towards the indigenous and popular or the classical art work can be properly assessed by examining a sample of programming. Few programmes from

AROUND THE SAMOVAR

Sunday, September 22, 1929

Peter Biljo's Balalaika Orchestra and Soloists.

1. IN MOLDAVIA (Waltz) Peter Biljo's Balalaika Orchestra

2. A PAIR OF SORREL HORSES (By Request) Violin Solo, M'lle Kazanova
A pair of sorrel horses; they have been harnessed since dawn.
Skinny, hungry, dejected, they cause a laugh among the people.
And you used to be racers, and have the bravest coachman!
Your owner grew older with you,
Pair of sorrel horses, pair of sorrel horses.

Greek from Odessa or Jew from Warsaw, young lieutenant and gray general
Every one of them looked for love and good times, and on your breast fell asleep.
Where are they? In what new Goddess are they looking for their ideals?
You, only you, are true to her till now,
Pair of sorrel horses, pair of sorrel horses.

That is why, at early dawn, you are harnessed and you have been starving for days,
Slowly you trot, making a laugh among the people. Age for you. and for her is a threat,
And the murmur of the mob will forever quiet down, and only the lash sometimes caresses you,
Pair of sorrel horses, pair of sorrel horses.

A quiet foggy morning in the capital; through the street slowly crawls a hearse,
In the wooden coffin the body of a lost woman, driven by a pair of sorrel horses, just able to drag it.
Who follows her to the grave? She has no friends or relatives, only a few shabby beggars,
And a pair of sorrel horses, a pair of sorrel horses.

3. PARTING BAYS Baritone Solo, Mr. Spivak
We stood at sunset by the stream and you promised to love me. But you have forgotten me, unfortunate and dying. Then when I am dead, my love shall live in song to reproach you in its sorrow.

4. WHY SHOULD I BE LONELY? (Lively number) Mme Nicolina
Why should I be lonely? Where are you, my beloved, my dark-eyed one? I don't want to live with sorrow. I will fly to you in the far country.

5. GAY BIRD (Polka) Peter Biljo's Balalaika Orchestra

6. COSSACK'S MEDLEY Peter Biljo's Balalaika Orchestra

7. SONG OF ROUMANIAN GYPSY Violin Solo, M'lle Kazanova

Document 2

Extract from the script for radio show *Around the Samovar*, 22 September, 1929.

From the Kasura collection. University of Illinois

September 22, 1929.

8. DOUBT (Glinka) (By request) Soprano Solo, Mme Nicolina
Be silent, despair of passion, sleep without hope, my heart, I weep, I suffer, my soul is worn out from parting. I suffer, I weep. My grief cannot be spent in tears. Hope is useless, trying to prophesy happiness. I do not believe in falsehood's promise. Parting takes away love. As in a nightmare, I dream of a fortunate rival and secretly, meanly, jealousy flames and boils. And secretly, meanly, I predict happiness. I do not believe in falsehood's promise, for parting takes away love. As in a nightmare, my hand seeks for a weapon, and uselessly, my jealousy predicts unfaithfulness, I do not believe, I do not believe the falsehoods of dreams.
I am happy again, you are mine. The sorrowful time has passed. Again we embrace each other with passion - our hearts beat again. With passion and flames our lips meet in a kiss.

9. SWAN SONG Baritone Solo, Mr. Spivak.
I call to you, come to my aid; if you understand suffering, which desolates my heart, night and day. Take pity on the sorrow which oppresses me. In the night I sob, broken, and never merciful sleep for one moment comes to lessen my torments, to put an end to the grief which overwhelms me. To the infinite love which consumes my heart, destiny has given an unworthy fate. And if I must exist far from you, in sorrow, then this verse will be my swan song.

10. Ensemble.

Document 2 contd

Extract from the script for radio show *Around the Samovar*, 22 September, 1929.

From the Kasura collection. University of Illinois

radio or concert performances are generally available but a range of extant concert programmes from the Kasura or Kutin collection cover the period 1962 to the present, with the greater selection of programmes coming from the 1980s. These assist with an overview of what mix of repertoire was deemed appropriate. For the purposes of this study the late post war period leading to the 1950s will be given little emphasis at this point. This is largely due to the emergence of the Cold War and McCarthyism which not only shunned all things Soviet but sent the balalaika and its material virtually out of sight and underground in the USA.

Figure 5 represents a variety of performances of American balalaika groups between 1962 and 1992. In collating and categorising programme repertoire it is essential to remember that the length of programme required and the availability of particular players, especially soloists or featured instrumentalists, would affect the selection of material. It is, all the same, interesting to note the swing to particular sections of repertoire and how this compares to the selections produced for disc, radio and concert performances pre war and post war. Figure 6 represents the programmes of some Russian balalaika orchestras who toured the USA between 1972 and 1993.

The tables have been divided into categories which aim to represent the bulk of material not only found in both the Kasura and Kutin collections but also the previously discussed material for disc, radio, cabaret and vaudeville. Obviously there is connecting tissue that exists between categories and this means that the classification of a particular work could be cloned into another category. For example, a work in a programme which is not defined as 'folk song' but obviously has certain folk characteristics has been placed in category 4 representing works based on extant Russian pieces. Works whose source is non-Russian but whose arrangement is executed by a Russian arranger is also placed in category 4.

The question of what constitutes a classical art work also leads to certain ambiguities. For the purpose of these charts I have collated all major non-Russian and Russian art composers into category 2 - the classical art work. This category represents a diversity of major composers such as Bach, Beethoven, Borodin, Brahms, Chopin, Glinka, Haydn, Kabalevsky, Khatchaturian, Liszt, Moussorgsky, Mozart, Paganini, Puccini, Rachmaninoff, Saint-Saens, Schubert, Tchaikovsky, Verdi, Vivaldi. Russian arrangements of extant Russian or non-Russian works by minor art composers have been placed in category 4. Category 2 then,

ORCHESTRA AND CONCERT DATE	AMERICAN SONG	CLASSICAL ART WORK	FOLK SONG	ARR. BASED ON EXISTING RUSSIAN OR NON-RUSSIAN WORK	LYRIC SONG OR ARIA	GYPSY	DANCE	MOVIE SOUND-TRACK
The Balalaika & Domra Society Orchestra								
19/05/62		5	4	6			2	
19/05/73				16	1	1	1	
11/05/74		1	2	11	1	1	2	
10/08/74				18		1		1
March 76				6		2	1	1
12/11/77		1		8	2	1	2	
28/10/78		1	2	12	4	1		1
22/09/79				12	2		3	
15/11/80		1	1	10	2		5	
$^{17}/_{10}$/06/81			7	11	4	1	8	2
17/10/81				12	1	2	2	
14/11/81				13	2	2	2	
29/07/82				11	2	1	3	1
04/12/82		1		13	2	2	2	
22/10/83				14	1			
19/07/85		1	3	8	2			
25/07/86				21	1		3	
Detroit Balalaika Orchestra								
14/11/59		3	3	3	3			
17/10/81			12	1	2	2		
16/10/82		2	4	10		1		
15/10/83			5	6	3	2	2	
20/10/84			1	11	1	3	2	1
12/10/85			1	6	2		6	
03/11/85			4	8	2		2	
01/11/86			3	10		2	2	
21/05/88		2	1	7	1	2	4	
18/11/89		2	2	7		1	3	2
05/10/90		1	5	9		2		1
26/10/91		3	2	11		1	4	
24/10/92		1	5	9	2	1	2	2
14/05/94			3	17		2		
Sub Total	**0**	**25**	**70**	**317**	**43**	**34**	**63**	**12**

Figure 5

Table of American balalaika orchestras' repertoire from a sample of programmes between the period 1962-1992

ORCHESTRA AND CONCERT DATE	AMERICAN SONG	CLASSICAL ART WORK	FOLK SONG	ARR. BASED ON EXISTING RUSSIAN OR NON-RUSSIAN WORK	LYRIC SONG OR ARIA	GYPSY	DANCE	MOVIE SOUND-TRACK
Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra (dir Kutin)								
30/06/81		5	8	6	2		2	
05/04/86		6	6	4				
University of Illinois Balalaika Orchestra								
13/12/91		1		6	1		1	1
Atlanta Balalaika Society								
01/06/91		2	8	10	1	2	2	1
04/06/94	1	1	1	16		1		
Andreyev Balalaika Ensemble (dir Kasura)								
14/06/80		1	1	6	7	2	3	
Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra of Philadelphia								
04/06/72			2	11	4	3	2	
Sub-Total	**1**	**30**	**65**	**185**	**30**	**27**	**39**	**8**
Washington Balalaika Orchestra								
28/04/90		1	7	4	1		11	1
20/04/91		4	4	4	3			
19/09/92	1	1	10	4	2	1	1	
22/05/93			4	3		2	2	
21/05/94			10	2	2	1	1	1
19/11/94		1	4	5	2		2	
20/05/95		3	18	3	2	1	2	
15/06/96			7	5	4		3	1
29/06/96		2	5	4	2			1
University of Arizona Balalaika Orchestra								
16/11/86			9	7			1	
26/11/89	1	1	7	2	2		4	
23/03/90			5	5	2	1	6	
09/03/91		1	6	8	1		1	
06/04/91			7	2	1	1	6	
19/01/92			8	3	3	2	6	1
27/11/93		1	5	5	2		8	1
14/01/95		3	7		3		6	
13/01/96		2	8	6			7	
11/01/97			2	5	2			9
17/01/98		3	5	7	1	1		6
TOTAL	**3**	**64**	**222**	**471**	**93**	**52**	**142**	**35**

Figure 5 contd

Table of American balalaika orchestras' repertoire from a sample of programmes between the period 1962-1992

ORCHESTRA AND CONCERT DATE	AMERICAN SONG	CLASSICAL ART WORK	FOLK SONG	ARR. BASED ON EXISTING RUSSIAN OR NON-RUSSIAN WORK	LYRIC SONG OR ARIA	GYPSY	DANCE	MOVIE SOUND-TRACK
Osipov Balalaika Orchestra of Moscow								
$^{21}/_{23}$/01/72		5	9	2				
Alexsandrov Red Army Song & Dance Ensemble								
$^{13}/_{15}$/10/89	4	3	8	2	1		5	
Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra								
12/01/91		6	3	10				
Moscow Balalaikas								
1991-92	1	3	5	11			2	1
1992-93	1	3		20				
TOTAL	**6**	**20**	**25**	**45**	**1**	**0**	**7**	**1**

Figure 6

Table of repertoire from a sample of programmes of Russian balalaika orchestras who toured the USA during the period 1972-1993

attempts to represent the major art works or composers who are known to or accessible to a western audience. There are also ambiguities which arise in defining dance, gypsy music and general instrumental arrangements based on extant Russian or non-Russian works. Here I have moved any accurately defined (by programme information) dance pieces into the dance category and any gypsy music into the gypsy category even though they may, for example, be based on a traditional folk song or an extant Russian instrumental work. The results of the collation of the programme material of American balalaika orchestras is represented in the following table (figure 7).

Once the tables are converted to a graph indicating a swing of selection of concert repertoire by category (figure 8), a pattern of programme selection develops. There is an emphasis on the performance of instrumental works already known or composed which may be by Russian or non-Russian composers but which have Russian or American-Russian arrangers. Lyric songs are highly favoured by the American balalaika ensembles as representative of authentic Russian musical tradition whereas with the Russian touring orchestras they are dropped in favour of more instrumental and ensemble material and a concentration on accessible classical art works and Russian folk songs.

Such repertoire choice may be based on the Russian's view of what a western audience expects to hear. Other factors may be economic. Particular soloists may be brought in for what might constitute a small percentage of performing on tour. Of note is the fact that gypsy music is omitted completely from the Soviet programmes because such music was not authenticated by the orchestras as indigenous Russian music. This music was regarded by the Russian government as 'uncultured'. Such music alongside some of the indigenous Russian folk songs were in fact lost completely in the fifties. Large-scale Soviet folk-instrumental orchestras began their American tours and their concert programmes were dominated by classical art works.

Excepting gypsy music in the Russian orchestral programme, second and third places are competed for by folk songs, classical art works or dances in both cases. On the one hand this may be representative of perceived audience demand. This could be based on hitherto known responses to disc, radio and vaudeville/cabaret repertoire. It may also depend on repertoire available in manuscript or published form. Whether any similarities occur may be determined by Figure 9 which represents genres of balalaika orchestra material in the Kutin and Kasura collections.

Totals of works from Figure 5

American song	3
Classical art work	64
Folk song	222
Arrangements based on Russian or non-Russian extant work	471
Lyric song or aria	93
Gypsy	52
Dances	142
Movie soundtrack	35

Totals of works from Figure 6

American song	6
Classical art work	20
Folk song	25
Arrangements based on Russian or non-Russian extant work	45
Lyric song or aria	1
Gypsy	0
Dance	7
Movie soundtrack	1

Figure 7

Table representing the collation of the programme material of
American (above) and Russian (below) touring orchestras

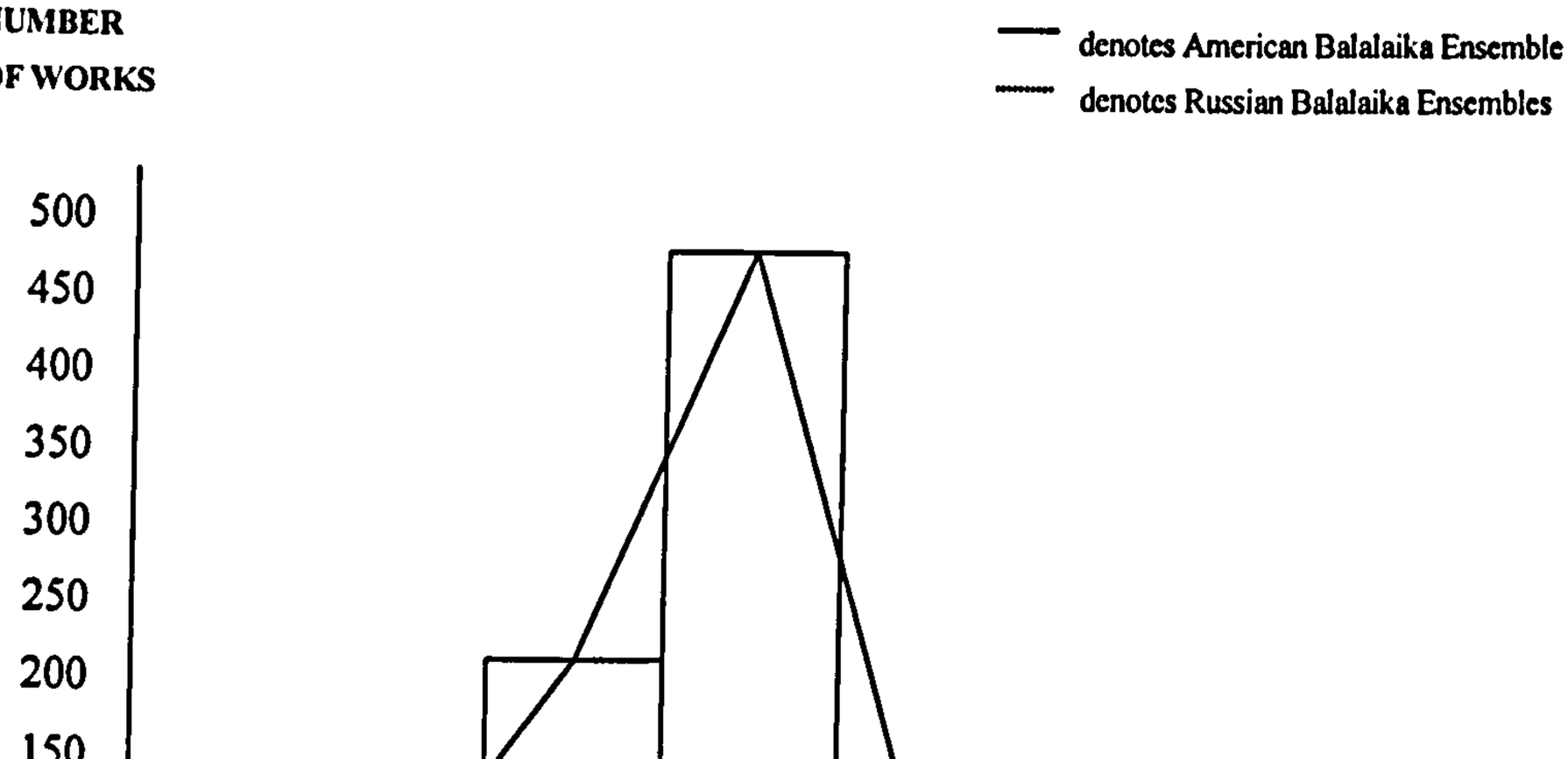


Figure 8

Graph illustrating the popularity of concert repertoire by category or genre

	AMERICAN SONG	CLASSICAL ART WORK*	FOLK SONG	ARR. BASED ON EXISTING RUSSIAN AND NON-RUSSIAN WORK**	LYRIC SONG OR ARIA	GYPSY	DANCE	MOVIE SOUND-TRACK	ARR. OF (WESTERN) OTHER NATIONAL SONGS
Kasura Collection	2	53	90	562	269	39	73	42	4
Kutin Collection	15	313	17	401	8	6	39	3	8

For the purposes of calculation, some overlaps in the Kasura Collection will occur. Namely when, for instance, a song with plectral accompaniment may be logged under 'orchestral' work and 'balalaika' in the Kasura preliminary checklist.

Works sourced from other cultures with non-Russian arrangers have also been included in column 4.

The Kutin Collection does not have similar overlaps since its catalogue is a straightforward listing with no columns of works by type as represented in the Kasura checklist.

** including medleys

* including operas and ballets

Figure 9

Table of balalaika material by genre in the Kutin and Kasura collections #
at the University of Illinois

Mapped as a graph (figure 10), the table of works in the Kutin and Kasura collections displays a similar pattern with arrangements of Russian or non-Russian works occupying first place. There is, however, a shift of emphasis for second place: the Kasura collection possesses a large number of lyric songs and the Kutin collection arrangements of classical art works. Kasura was particularly keen to ensure that only authentic folk songs, gypsy songs and dances could be introduced into his collection and subsequently into the Balalaika and Domra Society's repertoire, of which Kasura became director in 1971.

These differences aside, the global pattern depicted in all tables and graphs clearly displays similarities between a repertoire existing in manuscript and the selection of repertoire for concert performance. Even though the sample of programmes for Russian orchestras is small, a familiar pattern can be seen on the graph. This pattern emerges in not only the Russian orchestra's programme but in the American orchestra's programme and the Kasura collection. The major blip in the Kutin pattern, notably in the classical art works category, is probably enhanced by the fact that Kutin's orchestra also possessed conventional symphonic instruments (plate 32) and therefore extant published scores of popular classical art works were encouraged. These scores could be adapted section by section to include instruments of the balalaika and domra family. The result of such a selection of works and the adaptation of them produced a penchant for a westernised balalaika orchestra. In this respect, Kutin's orchestra was very much in favour with the American public:

> The members of the instrumental ensemble are skilful, well-disciplined and musically serious. Mr. Kutin is a man of taste who works for expressiveness. As the group is rounded out by a percussion section, a double bass player, a French horn player and other instrumentalists, it can achieve a wider range of effects than one would expect from a body consisting mostly of balalaikas.[37]

The mix of balalaikas with conventional symphonic instruments was by no means a purely American approach. Moscow's celebrated Osipov Balalaika Orchestra directed by Victor Dubrovsky toured 45 cities in the USA in 1969. This was the second major balalaika orchestra after Andreyev's Great Russian Orchestra to tour the USA. Of particular interest is the fact that Dubrovsky regarded an orchestra comprised of only stringed instruments 'very limited'.[38]

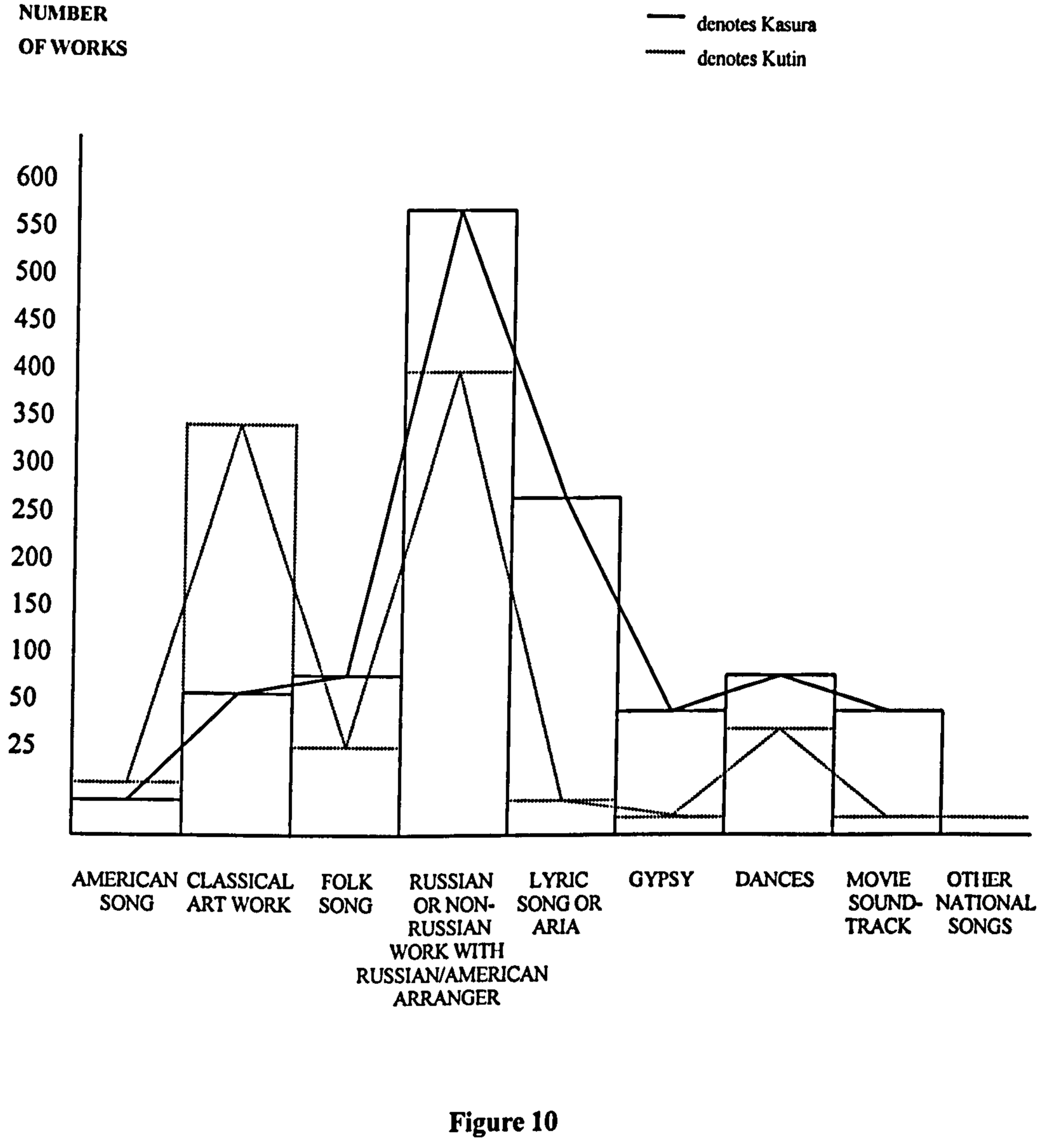


Figure 10

Graph illustrating works by genre in the Kutin and Kasura collections

at the University of Illinois

Plate 32

The Alexander Kutin Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra. Photographed by Eric Tomczak, Elmhurst, N.Y. Courtesy of Mrs. Rita Kutin

For Kasura the commitment to an orchestra which excluded symphonic instruments and sought the preservation of traditional Russian instrumental material for the concert repertoire was essential. This is indicated by Kasura's rejection of Kutin's approach as well as his 'wait and see' policy which he adopted before making a decision about whether he would align himself to the new Balalaika and Domra Association of America convention in 1979.

Additionally, being an ardent and long supporter of the 'Andreyev School of Concert Tuning and Playing' - we can not agree with the deviations and misconception promulgated by such as Koutin, Kauriga and Poliansky. We feel, that while there is a place for all types of artists and performers, the goal of fostering authentic Russian folk music, will not be best served by their concepts.[39]

Kasura's aim, however, to bring Russian works to an American audience in a performance that was truly authentic meant some adaptation of arrangements. This was necessary, either because of his ensemble's playing capabilities or because of the availability of instruments. Kasura points out:

In addition orchestral and other music, received from Soviet sources has been reorchestrated to meet the Society's needs and capabilities.[40]

This was a two-sided coin for both Kasura and the Society. On the one hand it was important to bring authentic works of Soviet composers to an American audience. On the other the question of how accurate the orchestra's structure and how meticulous the orchestration could be in comparison to the traditional Russian balalaika orchestra depended simply on how many instruments were available and what limitations of skill the players possessed. Kasura outlined in his approach with the following advice:

The successful performance of any Balalaika-Domra Orchestra is dependent on two essential factors:

1. The skill and creative ability of the group's Music Arranger;
2. The level of proficiency in the art of ensemble playing the group's conductor has been able to obtain from its membership - or is willing to consider as acceptable for its purposes.[41]

THE BALALAIKA'S ROLE IN THE HOLLYWOOD SOUNDTRACK

Although the availability of professional players and the shortage of instruments may have been thought to impede the rise of the balalaika, throughout the first half of the twentieth century the instrument continued to permeate all layers of popular culture. This meteoric rise culminated in a love affair between Hollywood and the balalaika. The use of balalaikas in motion picture soundtracks was encouraged in two ways. First, the interest in political unrest around the world - the effects of Stalinism, the Spanish Civil War and the rise of fascism provided topical subject matter for screenplays. Russian themes were of particular interest in the twenties and thirties. Second, it was the restaurants, vaudeville and cabaret circuits where balalaikists performed which also publicised balalaika music. Throughout the twenties, thirties, and forties during the heydays of Hollywood, famous film directors patronised such establishments and in turn were introduced to the individualistic timbre of the balalaika and its ensemble.

One such film actor and director who helped to elevate the stature of the balalaika was Charlie Chaplin. Chaplin was himself a violinist, cellist, and mandolinist and became a great afficionado of the balalaika. In addition to including the instrument in his movie soundtracks, Chaplin also invested at one time in a restaurant - The Double Headed Eagle - which often featured balalaika ensembles and soloists. A performer and friend of Chaplin's who taught Chaplin the balalaika played a key role in popularising the instrument in the movies. This was the professional balalaikist Gregory Petrovich 'Grisha' Titov (1901-1991) (plate 33). Arriving in the USA in 1923 from Harbin in Manchuria, Titov worked in steel mills and lumber yards until he was able to take his Volga Balalaika Orchestra to Hollywood. Initially they performed in venues where Grisha began to cultivate contacts in the movie industry. These included the restaurants Double-Headed Eagle, Katinka, Balalaika and later the Russian American Art Club.

> And when I played at the Balalaika there was Nelson Eddy who was star of the *Balalaika* movie. He came over there with the director and they listened to us, to my orchestra. I gave them one of the pieces they used in the picture.[42]

As a result of meeting directors and movie stars Titov began playing balalaika in vision or for movie soundtracks in 1928. Since that time he appeared in thirty-two motion pictures

Plate 33

Photograph of Grisha Titov (balalaikist on extreme left) and his orchestra, 1945. Photographed by N. Gardon, Photo Art Studio. Courtesy of Anya Titova

including Chaplin's *City Lights* 1931, *Shanghai* 1935, *Anna Karenina* 1935, *Tovarich* 1937, *Balalaika* 1939, *Ninotchka* 1939, *Hotel Imperial* 1940, and *The Chocolate Soldier* 1941. Titov, however, did not only perform on the soundtrack. Chaplin, for example, hired Titov to perform for him during shooting, lunch breaks, and production parties.

Although the Hollywood movie was a suitable mouthpiece to spread the gospel of balalaika music to an American public, certain problems related to the representation of the instrument concerned professionals. Firstly, actual soundtrack recordings were often mastered with fewer instrumentalists than were seen in vision. This obviously assisted budgetary considerations but the issue was inflamed as movie directors often exaggerated their in-vision groups of instrumentalists with extras holding fake balalaikas. In terms of the visual effect, this aesthetically enhanced or filled a shot. Secondly, some small ensembles were only featured by an audio or visual appearance. For example, Chaplin's film *City Lights*, 1931 (plate 34), shows Grisha Titov and his musicians at a dance but it is actually Chaplin's own specially composed score that accompanies the action. In contrast, the film *Balalaika* features Nelson Eddy playing a balalaika yet it is Grisha Titov's performance which is actually heard.

Another Hollywood device is mentioned by Walter Kasura in his draft document *The Instruments of Andreyeev's* (sic.) *Balalaika Orchestra*.[43] Here Kasura scorns movie directors who often filmed prima domra or prima balalaika players playing the instrument with a plectrum - which communicated incorrect performance technique and timbral effect since the prima instruments are executed only with the fleshy part of the forefinger. Kasura believed that such a representation of the instrument would misinform both prospective amateur performers and the general public.

THE PERIOD OF MCCARTHYISM AND BEYOND

Although the balalaika enjoyed a Hollywood heyday, its novelty as a new orchestral timbre and its iconographical place in the life of the Russian emigrés inevitably waned with the onset of degenerating American and Russian relations. How the instrument and the ensembles survived such political and social pressures must now be examined in the context of the USA's adoption of anti-communist tendencies.

Plate 34

Charlie Chaplin in *City Lights*, 1931. The photograph features balalaikist Grisha Titov standing on the far right in a white rubashka. Courtesy of Anya Titova.

The persuasion of the American people to anti-communism found its roots much earlier than the advent of McCarthyism. America did not recognise Russia's new government until sixteen years after the revolution. Their relationship with emigrés had been highly volatile - equating the ethos of the Russian people and the new experiment in Communism as radical. This radicalism could, the Americans believed, infiltrate the institutions on which America was built. Indeed any American advocates of social change in the country were thrown into the same camp as those who promoted communist ideals. On the political stage the post-war republicans and democrats argued between themselves on the merits of an international or isolationist stance towards Russia. Adding to the growth of anti-communist feeling was the work of the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities of 1938 set up by democrat Martin Dies. Dies popularised the political jargon later to be used by McCarthy and specifically generated the notion of guilt by connection or association. Overall the work of Dies' committee appealed to the American public which showed support collected through the Gallup polls of the late thirties and forties. Given that such anti-communist stances existed prior to the period of McCarthyism it is surprising that Russian musicians managed to promote their work so successfully into American culture.

The period of McCarthyism itself, however, became the major catalyst for problems for the balalaika orchestra and its audience in the USA. McCarthy was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1946 and by February 1950 he was looking for an issue on which he could promote his political future. It was Father Edmund A. Walsh the dean of the Georgetown University Washington who planted the 'anti-communist' issue at a dinner at Washington's Colony Restaurant. McCarthy picked up Walsh's idea and decided to create an issue built on communists in government. The claim that there were 205 communists in the state department and the fanaticism of this anti-Communist senator caused the Un-American Activities Committee to search for Americans with any left-wing or liberal tendencies. Within society at large the continuing growth of an American balalaika movement became a target especially when McCarthy won approval from such a large body of American opinion. Even those that attempted some kind of political impartiality were prone to be tarred with the same brush. Those groups that furthered the exploitation of Russian music regardless of their loyalty to the American Senate were branded Communist as a result of 'guilt by association.'

Although McCarthy was censured by his Senate colleagues in 1954 much of his anti-Communist philosophy had gripped a large number of Americans:

I remember the attitudes changing and the one thing when these people were over that you didn't discuss, everything and anything, the one thing you never mentioned was politics.[44]

They always had when they came over to the house from the city, there was always the KGB and we had fun trying to figure out which one it was.[45]

In conjunction with the Cold War it was inevitable that such feelings would linger into the late fifties, sixties and even the early seventies resulting in personal attacks and publicity stunts:

A performance of the Balalaika Symphony Orchestra at Town Hall was disrupted last night when several stink bombs were discharged in the theater at 123 West 43rd Street. According to a witness, several hundred people were evacuated, delaying the second half of the performance by the orchestra.[46]

I remember when groups like the Osipov would come over. I remember going through the metal detectors at Carnegie Hall.[47]

Furthermore a personal reminiscence of performer Anya Titova, the widow of the balalalikist Grisha Titov, illustrates some of the pressure and persecution which balalaika afficionados endured:

There wasn't any point in trying to do anything that had the name or label Russian on it ... it angered me very much and especially because, as I say, when I came along and I graduated college and I started to work for the US Treasury - of all the things that had nothing to do with Russia - even the Secret Service was asking me, What about this Russian? You know, does he go to the Embassy? And I kept trying to tell them that he least of all people would have any love for the communists. I mean they killed off his entire family and ruined his life, lost all his money, property, everything. He had no love for communism.[48]

The disruption of World War Two, the Cold War and the McCarthyist era obviously reduced the possibilities for the exploitation of the domra and balalaika.

A renaissance, however, did occur, with persistent veterans alongside the second and third generations of Russian-Americans who had fewer prejudices. They revived the search for their roots through the formation of musical groups again.

OUT OF THE UNDERGROUND - THE RE-EMERGENCE OF THE BALALAIKA INTO AMERICAN MUSICAL LIFE

In addition to the requirement for new instruments and orchestrations was the necessity for expert teachers, directors and arrangers. Certain players such as Bridgeport's Luke Bakoota (1903-1976), Detroit's Serge Larionoff, and New York's Mark Selivan found a new place for themselves as masters who would pass on the tradition of balalaika and domra playing. As the age of the master players increased younger players had less opportunity to pick up techniques from their teachers. Many groups continued, however, as best they could even though they were often criticised for poor playing technique or badly arranged pieces.

The major thrust forward for a new generation of balalaikists took place again in 1961 when The Balalaika and Domra Society (initially of New York) was founded by Alexander Kuchma, Jack Raymond and Mark Selivan, who became Music Director of the Society. A team of organisers was formed at the Society's first meeting. These organisers were the balalaikist Leonard Davis, the domrist Otto Orlick and Jack Weisberg, a member of the old Chekhov Society Balalaika Orchestra. These veteran players were concerned that balalaika music was disappearing in America. Their primary aim became the promotion of the study and playing of the domra and balalaika. In 1971 after the death of Selivan, Walter Kasura became the Society's Musical Director.

Selivan had encouraged Kasura to join the Society in 1964 as the difficulties of the fifties and early sixties in rebuilding authentic balalaika ensembles ensued. Selivan's letter of 8 March 1964 relates the position of the Society at this crucial time:

> The objective of the Society is to promote Balalaikas and Domras based on the principles established by Vasili Vasilievich Andreev. The instruments are to be tuned properly in order to obtain true tonal quality of the Balalaikas and Domras. The Society is a non-profit organization. We welcome all who share our belief to join without expectation of monetary compensation for any performance sponsored by the Society. Members of the Society must be of fine character in order to elevate the dignity of the instruments.

I do not wish to bore you further. Please permit me to state that you are well acquainted with my life work concerning the sacrifice I have made in promoting and upholding the reputation of the balalaika ensembles. I haven't given up. During the past few years I was deeply hurt by many opportunists who label themselves Balalaika Orchestra as you and I recognize they are deceiving the public by using other instruments such as the mandolins and guitars. The result of deception was the downgrading of our balalaikas and domras. I can relate to you of my personal experience, But space won't allow.

Therefore, I appeal to you, if it is possible join the society, help us gain respect for the Balalaikas and Domras among the public and the musical world.[49]

Later in an attempt to uphold these values and supply the needs of a new generation of players with instruction on solo and ensemble playing techniques, the Society under Kasura formed the Andreyev School of Music for Balalaika and Domra. Balalaika and domra education was supplied either by veteran Russian-American performers or by Soviet visiting performers. Apart from the promotion of the society itself the Balalaika and Domra Society had the following aims:

It has also established a policy of helping other groups and ensembles with their technical and musical problems, and with supplying accurate data and background on all aspects of Russian Folk Music to all interested parties.[50]

In addition to these aims the Society was dedicated to the preservation of traditional balalaika material set firmly in the mould of the principles and practices set down by V.V. Andreyev. This meant that the Society had hard and fast rules. Balalaikas must be three-stringed, tuned in fourths and with no plectrum performances allowed on the prima balalaika. The increased profile of the Society and the emergence of more balalaika ensembles in the USA provoked Kasura to write an update on the Society's accomplishments. Kasura's list of accomplishments firmly propel the balalaika onto not only the American concert stage but via other media such as film, television and disc into the popular music explosion of the sixties and seventies. Kasura's listed accomplishments for the Society included:

1. The first group to bring balalaika music to the international concert stage;

2. The first group to achieve support and recognition by Soviet musicians and music journalists;

3. The appearance of the Andreyev Balalaika Ensemble on the networked TV show *The Garry Moore Television Show*;

4. The first balalaikist (Leonard Davis) to be a guest soloist with a symphony orchestra - the Ridgewood Symphony Orchestra of New Jersey;

5. The first group to organise a school for the instruction of playing the balalaika and domra;

6. The persuasion of Belwin Music Publishers of New York to print an English version of Droshkin's *Self-Tutor for the Balalaika*;

7. Further exploitation of the aims of the group through the newspapers. Their first article written by Robert Sherman in *The New York Times*, November 1976.

A major fillip for the Balalaika and Domra Society as well as all things Russian began to emerge as early as 1962 when the filmmaker David Lean alongside British screenwriter Robert Bolt began to develop Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*. The score composed by Maurice Jarre with its internationally acclaimed theme 'Lara's Theme' will be fully examined in Chapter 4. Here, it is important to note that the success of the film and the score opened up the possibilities again for the performance of Russian music in the West. Anya Titova remembers the effect the film had on Russophiles in the USA:

> That was a wonderful shot in the arm for Russian culture too because you could stand up and say Russian movie or Russian music again and not be called up before some investigating committee.[51]

Furthermore, other opportunities arose in the USA for the balalaika to resurrect itself into American musical life. An interest in native instruments was being introduced in many American universities and it was at the University of Illinois where the first university based balalaika orchestra was organised (plate 35). The orchestra was directed by John Garvey who was first attracted to the balalaika in 1969 whilst he toured the USSR with the University of Illinois Jazz Band. On later visits Garvey studied with members of the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra and by 1973 he had collected twenty-five instruments for the first group of students for the orchestra.

Plate 35

University of Illinois Folk Instruments Orchestra. 1993. Conductor John Garvey. Photographed by Martin Kiszko

THE LAUNCH OF THE BALALAIKA AND DOMRA ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

In 1978 plans for a larger and more ambitious group of balalaikists and domrists were underway. Performers Steve Wolownik of The Houston Balalaika Society (Houston), Charley Rappaport of The Great American Gypsy Band (Atlanta), and Lynn Carpenter of Troika Balalaikas sent out hundreds of letters across the USA. Their aim was to enrol prospective members for a new organisation named The Balalaika and Domra Association of America. Initially the organisation wished to produce a central file of individuals or ensembles involved in Russian folk music. There was also a plan for a newsletter and the notion of a 'balalaika camp' later to be known as the BDAA's annual convention. The positive response to the mailout produced enthusiasm and a first list of 104 individuals and 31 groups was compiled. The BDAA was subsequently launched with Michael Kolos elected as president. The following year the first BDAA convention took place at Richard Stockton College, Pomona, New Jersey and this event became the crucial binding agent of the association. Annually the convention changed location, thus cementing the bonds between balalaikists and domrists across the USA.

In 1985 a landmark convention was held in Atlanta. For the first time featured artists and eminent instuctors from the USSR attended. These included such masters as bayanist Yaroslav Kovalchuk and balalaikist Volodymyr Illyashevich. The winter of 1985 also helped to create links with performers in the USSR and resulted in the opportunity for American players to participate in a study tour to Minsk. Further study tours and exchanges took place over the next few years providing opportunities for major artists to instruct in the States or teach visiting Americans in the USSR. The gradual break up of the USSR and the dissolution of the Russian parliament in 1991 increased the two-way flow that had been built over the years (plates 36 and 37).

During the nineties opportunities arose for major American balalaika conventions to take place on Russian soil. The first of these known as the 'Strings of Russia' music festival took place on a river cruise ship in 1990. The second 'Strings of Russia' festival took place in 1993 in Moscow. Whilst these oversea festivals did much to consolidate Russian-American relationships, a proportion of the BDAA found such overseas conventions too rigid in their focus. Much of the material and classes at these conventions was orientated towards the classical repertoire of orchestras such as Andreyev's and Osipov's and featured the formal

Plates 36 and 37

The Balalaika and Domra Association of America Balalaika Orchestra. Photographed by Martin Kiszko at the 20th Annual Convention of the BDAA, Lake George, New York, USA, 1998

Plates 36 and 37 contd

The Balalaika and Domra Association of America Balalaika Orchestra. Photographed by Martin Kiszko at the 20th Annual Convention of the BDAA, Lake George, New York, USA, 1998

approaches to balalaika technique expounded by the most prestigious Russian artists. Furthermore the discontents were dissatisfied with the lack of attention given to the more traditional roots of balalaika and domra performance - specifically the musics of the folk, gypsy and cabaret repertoire. Coupled with problems with overseas conventions were the casualties inflicted in the American camp as a result of the influx of world class Russian performers to the USA. Russian masters provided many countrywide concert tours and instrumental master classes at BDAA conventions. But the drawback of such an input was the effect it had on the indigenous Russian-Americans who were veteran players and who, until this point, had provided master class tuition for up and coming American players. Russian visitors instructing American balalaikists, but this time not emigrés, had for the discontents, now turned full cycle.

THE KASURA COLLECTION

It was throughout the years up to Walter Kasura's death in 1983 that Kasura had assisted in nurturing the members of the Balalaika and Domra Association of America. Over a period of forty years he had not only preserved a vast library of Russian folk material but he had written letters, documents, charts, guidelines and other teaching materials for the mutual benefit of the Association and for orchestras across the USA. After Kasura's death his family donated the remainder of his collection to the Music Library at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA - a quarter of his collection having already been sold by Kasura himself on his second visit to the University. The collection was officially dedicated on 2 May 1987 and placed in the University's Music Library's Special Collections Division headed by Special Collections Co-Ordinator Jean Geil.

On 1 July 1994 a special checklist of the majority of works in the Kasura Collection was produced. This was a result of the production of cataloguing records by David Bade and Richard Burbank alongside Howard Grueneberg who was responsible for editing, cataloguing information, producing indexes and providing camera-ready copy. The final checklist is entitled *Preliminary Checklist and Index of Ensemble Music in the Walter J. Kasura Collection of Russian Folk Music.*

The checklist includes all manuscript or published scores and parts that Kasura collected. Also in the collection but not in the checklist are published song collections, published scores without parts, solo vocal and instrumental works, photocopies of scores without parts,

method books and other miscellaneous materials including documents, letters and drafts for articles and books.

In total the Kasura collection contains over 13,000 items. Predominantly these are settings of Russian and gypsy folk songs, scores and parts for Russian folk ensembles and orchestras and anthologies of arrangements spanning folk and gypsy music in vocal, choral and instrumental editions. The Russian folk ensemble category alone contains 2,700 titles of which approximately a third are arrangements by Kasura for ensembles he personally knew. The bulk of the collection consists of 8,100 solo songs, mostly romances for voice and piano. There are also solo works for piano or stringed instruments and many of the works are pre Revolution or pre World War Two. Other material includes a scrapbook of 350 texts to Russian songs, 40 dance band arrangements published in the USA between 1920 and 1940, a libretto and 12 songs from the 1975 musical *Wall Street Russian Style* by Frank Gaskin Fields, 150 arrangements for voice and piano by Nick Grushko and 50 incomplete manuscript parts and scores to vocal works which carry the stamp of the Russian Grand Opera Company.

The global overview of this dramatic collection results in five major categories:

1. Russian Songs mostly Russian and Ukrainian but not exclusively so;

2. Instrumental arrangements of songs and melodies for various combinations of Russian folk instruments - also including original arrangements by Kasura;

3. Instrumental parts containing parts not found in category 2;

4. Printed collections, anthologies and instruction manuals;

5. Ephemera, correspondence and writings.

It is primarily with categories 1 and 2 that Chapter 4 will draw samples to evaluate the degree to which Russian-American arrangers pursued traditional techniques. First it is necessary to describe the characteristics and constitution of the balalaika orchestra. This investigation will determine whether the orchestra sought to preserve elements of its original structure from its roots in the USSR and whether its choice of repertoire was affected by

structure or by other factors. Such factors include the development of expanded performance techniques and the discussion of what constitutes a successful balalaika orchestra concert programme. Furthermore, the full description of the balalaika orchestra in Chapter 3 is necessary as an aid to the proper analysis of the samples chosen for investigation in Chapter 4.

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[48] Interview between Anya Titova and Martin Kiszko at the Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association of America, Lake George, USA, 17 July, 1998
[49] Selivan's letter to Kasura dated 8 March 1964, from the Kasura Collection, University of Illinois
[50] Walter Kasura, Draft for *The Balalaika Orchestra in America*, undated, from The Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.4
[51] Interview between Anya Titova and Martin Kiszko, op. cit.

CHAPTER 3

THE BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA – ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND CONSTITUTION

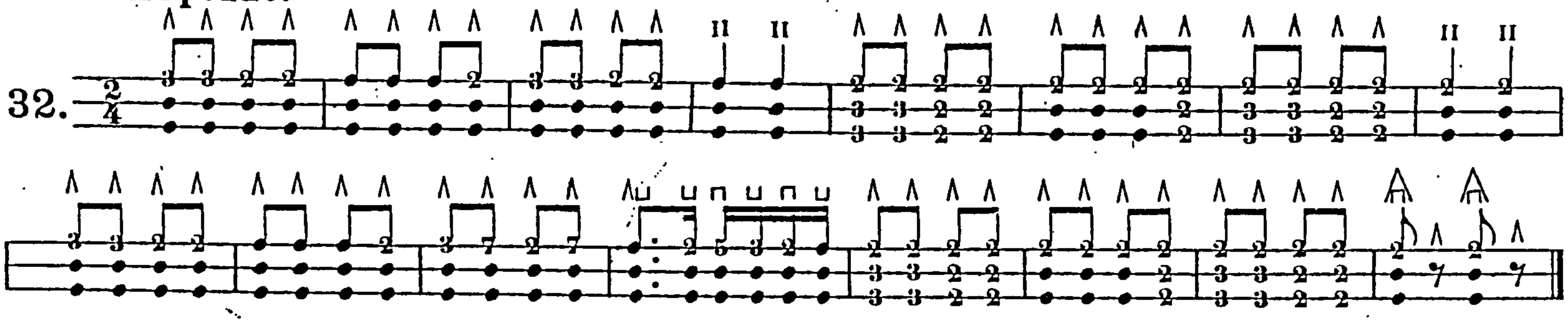
Just as the uncle's mushrooms and honey and liquers had seemed to her the most delicious in the world, this playing struck her at that moment as the very acme of musical expression.[1]

The title 'Balalaika Orchestra' might be regarded as an eponymous term to describe what we know today as the Balalaika Orchestra. The term, however, is misleading since the balalaika orchestra is not solely comprised of balalaikas. In Walter Kasura's draft pamphlet *Russian Folk Instruments Orchestras - Organisations and Arrangements*,[2] the author describes the term as a misnomer - an abbreviated title used purely for advertising and publicity purposes outside Russia. The accurate title is in fact a shorthand version of the full title, Balalaika and Domra Russian Folk Instruments Orchestra.

The Balalaika Orchestra is and has always been an orchestra in the throes of evolution. From its beginnings as a small group of dedicated balalaikists it has adapted itself to meet the requirements of different musical genres, arrangements, and orchestrations. Part of its adaptation has also included the influence of and the fusion with the conventional symphony orchestra. The balalaika family which F. Paserbsky (1830-1904) designed[3] for Andreyev in 1885/86 became the benchmark for the early ensembles of balalaikas. Since scores have not survived from this time, probably because most instrumentalists played by ear, one can only speculate that most balalaika arrangements were orchestrated using the pattern of Paserbsky's ensemble. This family, and any ensemble created from it, usually consisted of Andreyev's initial group of seven members performing together in 1888: descant, piccolo, prima, tenor, alto, bass and contra-bass.

By 1896 the ensemble had enlarged to 16 players including the first domrist P.P. Kharkin. Performing in 1897 as the Great Russian Balalaika Orchestra, they began to use a notational system of numbers, not unlike lute tablature, known as the cipher system (manuscript example 7).

This was later superseded by the conventional staff notation used today, though some



*) О штрихахъ см. тетрадь I.

Manuscript Example 7

Example of the cipher system of tablature. Extract from V. Nasonov's *Albom Lubitelya (Amateur's album)*, Russia 1904, p.4

arrangers still choose to outline chordal passages using the cipher system. During 1897/98 other instruments from string, percussion and wind sections were gradually implemented by Andreyev with the help of Nicolai Privalov (1868-1928). The emergence of scores and arrangements in staff notation appeared through the intervention of composer Nicolai Fomin (1869-1943) who assisted Andreyev in the formation of the balalaika ensemble. Fomin persuaded Andreyev to discontinue the descant and tenor balalaikas, adding secunda balalaikas. Usually scores prior to 1920 were written in the format introduced by Fomin and included: piccolo domra, prima domras I and II, alto domras I and II, tenor domras, bass domras I and II, contra-bass domras, gusli, kettle drums, prima balalaikas, secunda balalaikas, alto balalaikas, bass balalaikas and contra-bass balalaikas.

The further expansion of instrumentation within the Balalaika Orchestra took place when the noted balalaika soloist Boris Troyanovsky joined forces with domrist Pyotr Alexeyev. In 1919 they began what would become Moscow's first professional orchestra which grew into the orchestra now known as the Nikolai Osipov State Orchestra of Folk Instruments. This orchestra extended the orchestra's groups by further augmenting the sections with more balalaikas and domras, native instruments and instruments from other groups. As well as the bonus of a better unison timbre by the addition of more instruments of a similar type the introduction of new timbres enabled such an orchestra to provide more variety of solo instruments and instrumental groupings such as duets and quartets.

The common pattern of such an orchestra would be largely comprised of balalaikas and domras with a bayan player, gusli and percussion including tambourine, triangle, cymbals, loszki (wooden spoons), buben (large tambourines), treshchotka (a rattle with resonant boards strung on a gut line), wood block, sleigh bells, kolokolchiki (a type of glockenspiel), korobochka (a resonant box struck with a stick), chimes, xylophone, and nakras, a type of timpani. Any expanded instrumentation would also include native shepherds' horns, a type of rozhok (signal horn) known as the Vladimir horn and other wind instruments which might include dudka (a simple shepherds' horn), svirel (a native flute also a member of the dudka family), kuvikly (a combination of several dudkas into one unit), and zhaleika (wooden shepherds' horn with a horn tip). Examples of these instruments are found in appendix 2.

Both domras and balalaikas of the Andreyev Balalaika orchestra were three-stringed and

tuned in fourths - the Andreyev concert tuning. In attempting to ascertain the tuning and ranges of these instruments it is worth noting that in addition to variant tunings such as folk tunings for the prima balalaika, certain tunings differed in the Paserbsky balalaika family as contrasted to post-Paserbsky. Here alterations to tunings within the family were probably changed due to Andreyev's final rejection of the descant and tenor balalaikas. The notation of tunings may be found in the following examples (manuscript examples 8, 9 and 10).

The striking timbre of the balalaika is produced by several methods. Individual strings are plucked or all three strings are swept or strummed with the open hand. These methods of playing are described by Alexander Dorozhkin as 'pizzicato playing' and 'strumming'.[4]

The pizzicato is usually performed with a closed hand and consists of a downstroke of the right thumb. Strumming, the basic style of balalaika playing, is executed by the playing of down and up strokes by the fleshy part of the index finger. At all times the finger nail must never touch the string. The subsequent timbre produced was the soft, clear and transparent sound, which alongside tremolo playing, so captured the ear of Tchaikovsky:

How lovely is the balalaika. How striking the effect it makes in the orchestra. Timbrally - this is an indispensable instrument.[5]

DESCRIPTION AND ROLES OF INSTRUMENTS IN THE BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA

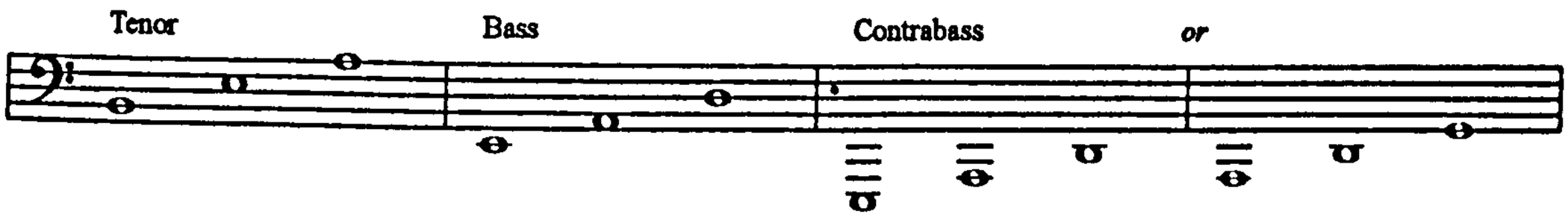
Piccolo domra

This instrument, though rarely used nowadays, is played with a plectrum. Its role within the balalaika orchestra is to provide melody lines that are higher in pitch than the prima domra parts. It may also be used to embellish the featured passages of other domras or balalaikas in their higher registers. The instrument may also support prima domra parts an octave higher or pursue a predominantly ornamental and decorative role.

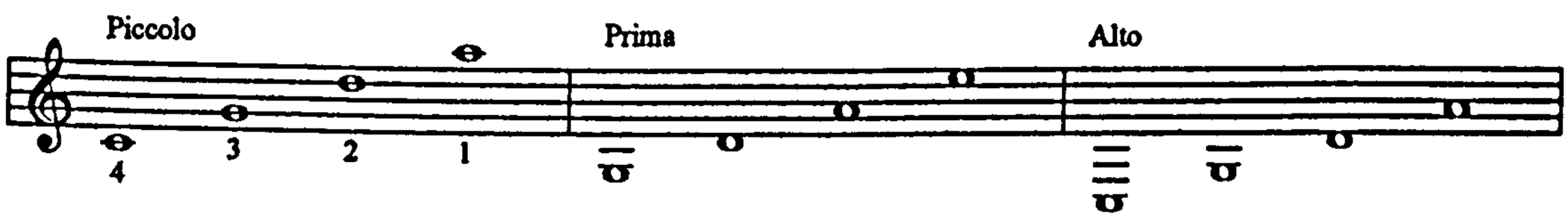
Prima domra

Generally this instrument (plate 38) is regarded as a lead instrument responsible for

Domras - 3 Strings



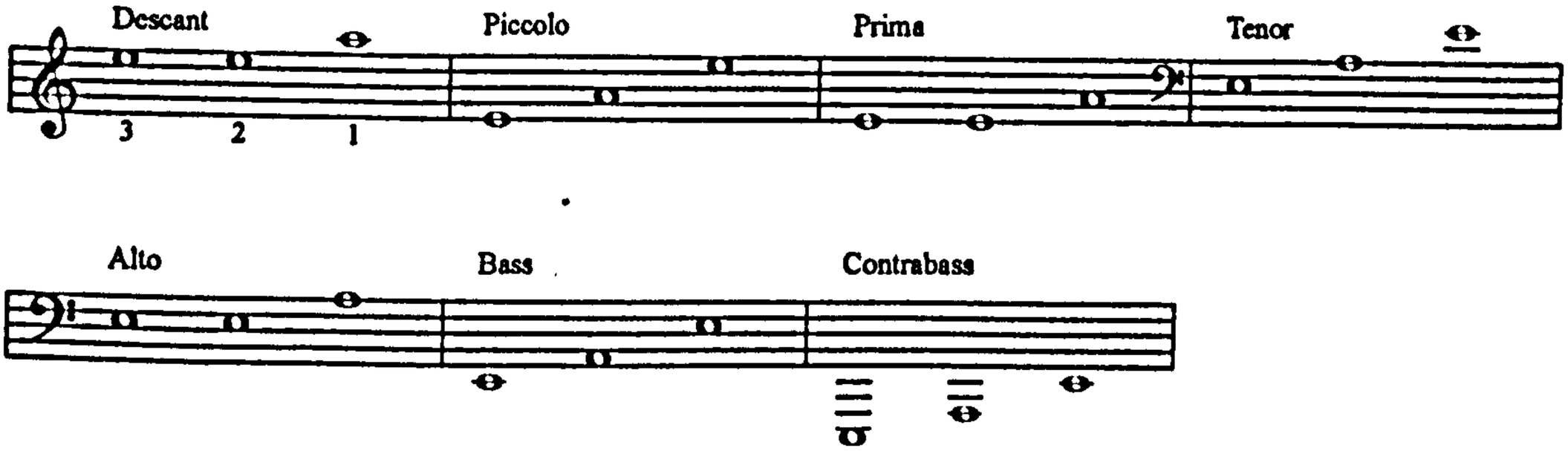
Domras - 4 Strings



Balalaikas

Manuscript Example 8

Present day tunings of domras and balalaikas



Manuscript Example 9

Paserbsky/Andreyev original tunings for balalaikas

Manuscript Example 10

Alternative prima balalaika tunings used in the Andreyev orchestra and in the present day
as described in Bibs Ekkel's *The Balalaika and How to Play It,*
self published, Vancouver 1995, p.92

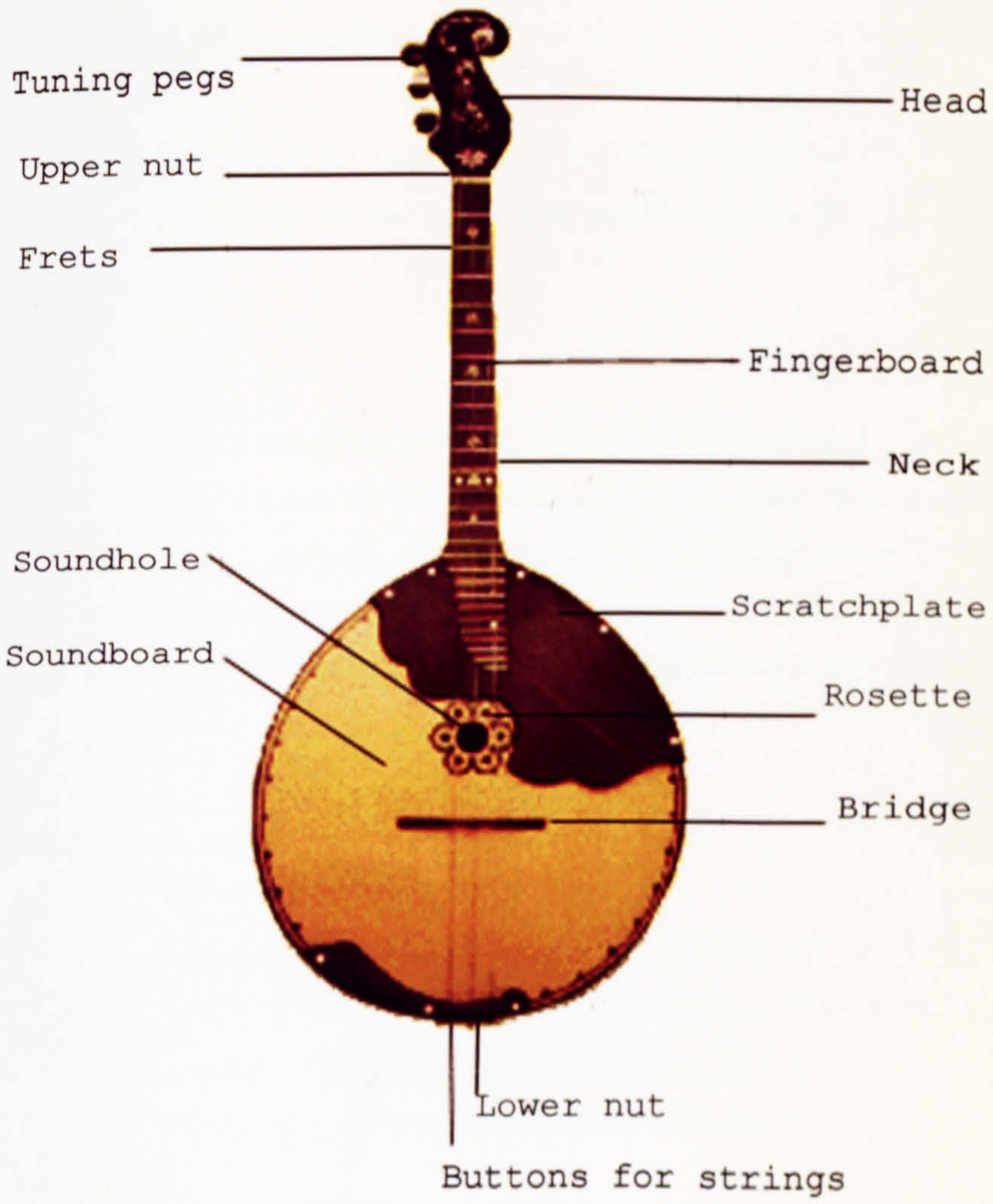


Plate 38

Prima Domra. Computer aided drawing by Martin Kiszko and Hannah Toomer

carrying melodic lines. Its melodic role is transferred to alto domras when it is required to perform variations on the melodic line. There are three timbres available on the instrument:

1. Normal playing position. Using a plectrum usually constructed of tortoiseshell over the pick guard;

2. Using the plectrum over the fingerboard;

3. Using the plectrum closer to the bridge.

In terms of the instrument's role within the ensemble - like the first violins in the symphony orchestra - the parts for prima domras are often subdivided into first and seconds.

Mezzo soprano domra

This seldom used instrument was superseded as a result of the increased number of players utilised within the alto and bass domra sections of the balalaika orchestra. When used, which is rarely, it is played with a plectrum and shares some of the tone and range of the prima domra. Its function is generally supportive in that it can double the prima domra II or alto domra I part. It can also provide extra harmony notes or complete triads with the alto domras.

Alto domra

Tuned an octave below the prima domra, this instrument also uses a plectrum and possesses wound strings. Due to its rich and mellow tone, it is regarded as the viola of the balalaika ensemble providing counter melody, filling harmony or taking the melodic lead when prima domras play variations. Like the prima domras it is often orchestrated into firsts and seconds.

Tenor domra

Again like the mezzo soprano domra this instrument is seldom used and was initially created to support the altos and basses. It was able to alternate between a melodic and

harmonic role dictated by the role at the time of the alto or bass part. The instrument gradually took a background role and became redundant as a result of the increase in numbers within other sections.

Bass domra

Also played with a plectrum usually constructed from soft leather this instrument is cello-like in tone. Its role is threefold. Like the prima domras it can provide leading melodic material but is more often required to provide support harmony, often in two parts, for the alto domras. In addition it supplies support for the bass end of the balalaikas especially if a bass balalaika is omitted in the arrangement. The strings of the instrument are wound, therefore limiting its agility for tremolando effects.

The ranges for each member of the domra family can be located in manuscript example 11.

Other variants of the domra family include the four-stringed domra, an innovation of G.P. Lubimov (1882-1934). Built in 1908 by S.F. Byrovim. The instrument used single strings tuned in fifths and was used particularly in smaller ensembles where an expanded range became essential. Although some artists such as domrist Tamara Volskaya have firmly placed this instrument on the concert platform, Walter Kasura has remarked that the instrument was of little use to large-scale ensembles:

This type of instrument was created after the Andreyev Orchestra type of instruments had attained great popularity throughout Russia, Europe and America. Considering that Russia had some excellent mandolin orchestras before and at the time, the basis for such innovation does become questionable.[6]

Piccolo balalaika

This balalaika uses a plectrum and its function is decorative rather than melodic. It may emphasise ornamental patterns or bring to the fore any highly pitched melodic motives or featured passages found in the prima balalaika part.

Manuscript Example 11

Ranges for each member of the domra family

Prima balalaika

The most important timbral quality of this instrument (plate 39) is due to the fact that it is played with the fleshy portion of the tip of the index finger. It is generally considered to be incorrect technique to use a plectrum for the instrument. The action required is that of a strumming motion which gives the sound a soft tremolando effect. Although primarily a melodic lead instrument the prima balalaika has many functions within the orchestra largely because of the flexibility of the instrument's range and playing techniques. Among its uses are the playing of counter melody, chordal accompaniment in triads, melodic single or double string work, pizzicato, vibrato applications and sharp downward strokes utilising four or five fingers - almost flamenco style - an effect known as *brantzanaya* which simply doubles up and shortens in time duration all notes of a melody line giving a distinctive stroking or strumming effect to the melody line.

Secunda balalaika

This is played with a plectrum and is required to supply parts of chordal patterns - usually triads which are shared with the alto balalaikas. These triads are normally functional on the weak beats of the bar leaving beat 1 to the bass end of the ensemble. The other use of the instrument is to support the balance of the medium and bass layers of the ensemble.

Alto balalaika

The alto balalaika provides similar accompaniment to the secunda balalaika. Its task is to represent the rhythmic spine of the piece. In the execution, for instance, of triads the alto would take the root and third whilst the secundas would take the third and fifth. In four note rhythmic chordal patterns, the alto would take the lower two notes whilst the secunda takes the upper notes.

Bass balalaika

This instrument played with a leather plectrum offers support, especially in tremolando passages, to the bass domra. It also supports the bass line of the contra-bass balalaika. Distances between strings and frets make the use of chords prohibitive but other textural

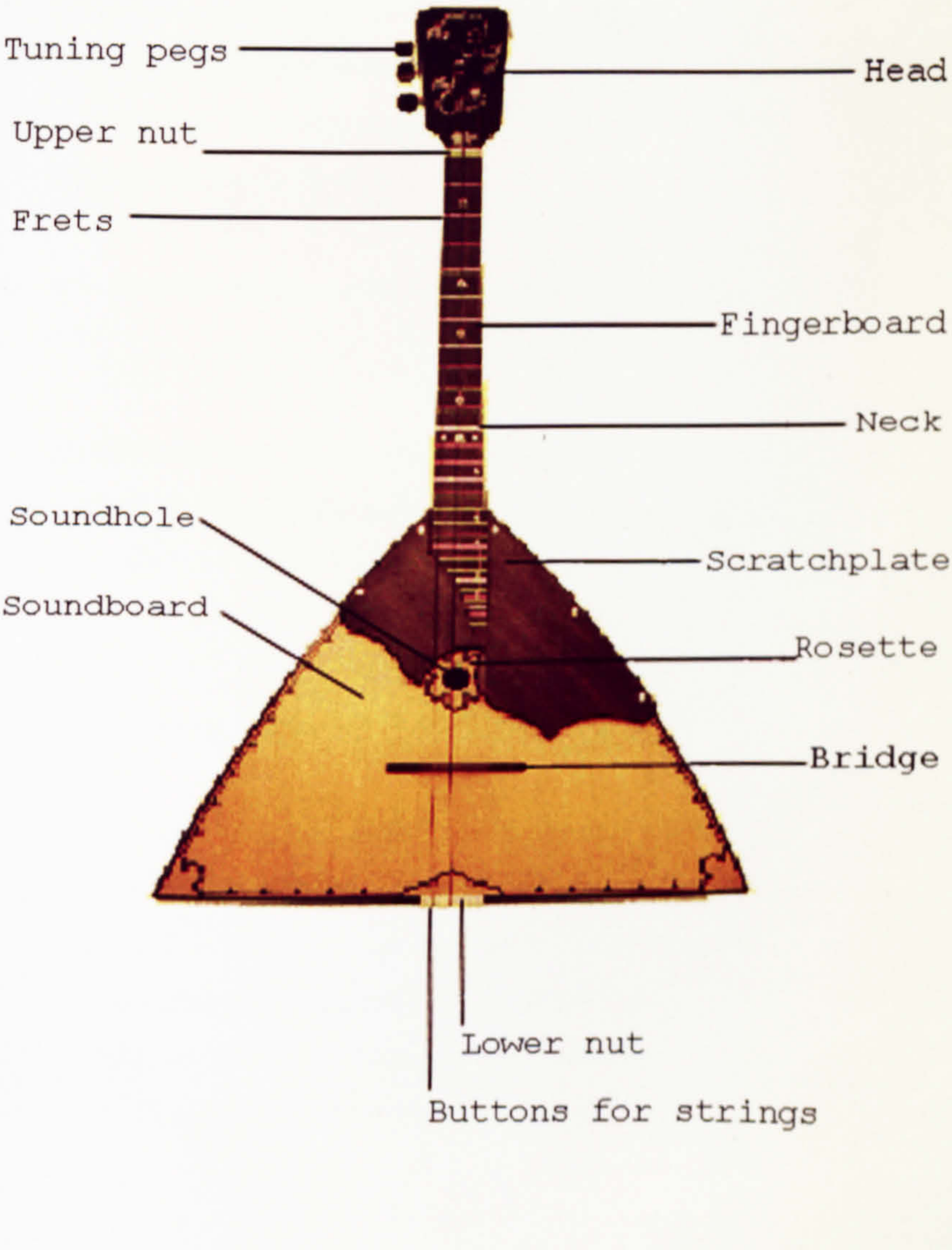


Plate 39

Prima balalaika. Computer aided drawing by Martin Kiszko and Hannah Toomer

effects such as the use of fingered pizzicato or harmonics are effective on the instrument.

Contra-bass balalaika

This instrument, which is elevated from the floor by a metal rod, is tuned an octave below the bass balalaika. The instrument fashions its role on the double bass of the symphony orchestra and provides deep pizzicato or tremolando bass lines. Two fingers of the left hand are required to fully press down the string to the fingerboard. In slower tempos the contra-bass can be used for melodic material and the timbral possibilities of the contra-bass follow those already cited under bass balalaika. A larger model known as the Octavo Bass also exists in some large-scale Russian orchestras.

The ranges for each member of the family of balalaikas can be found in manuscript example 12.

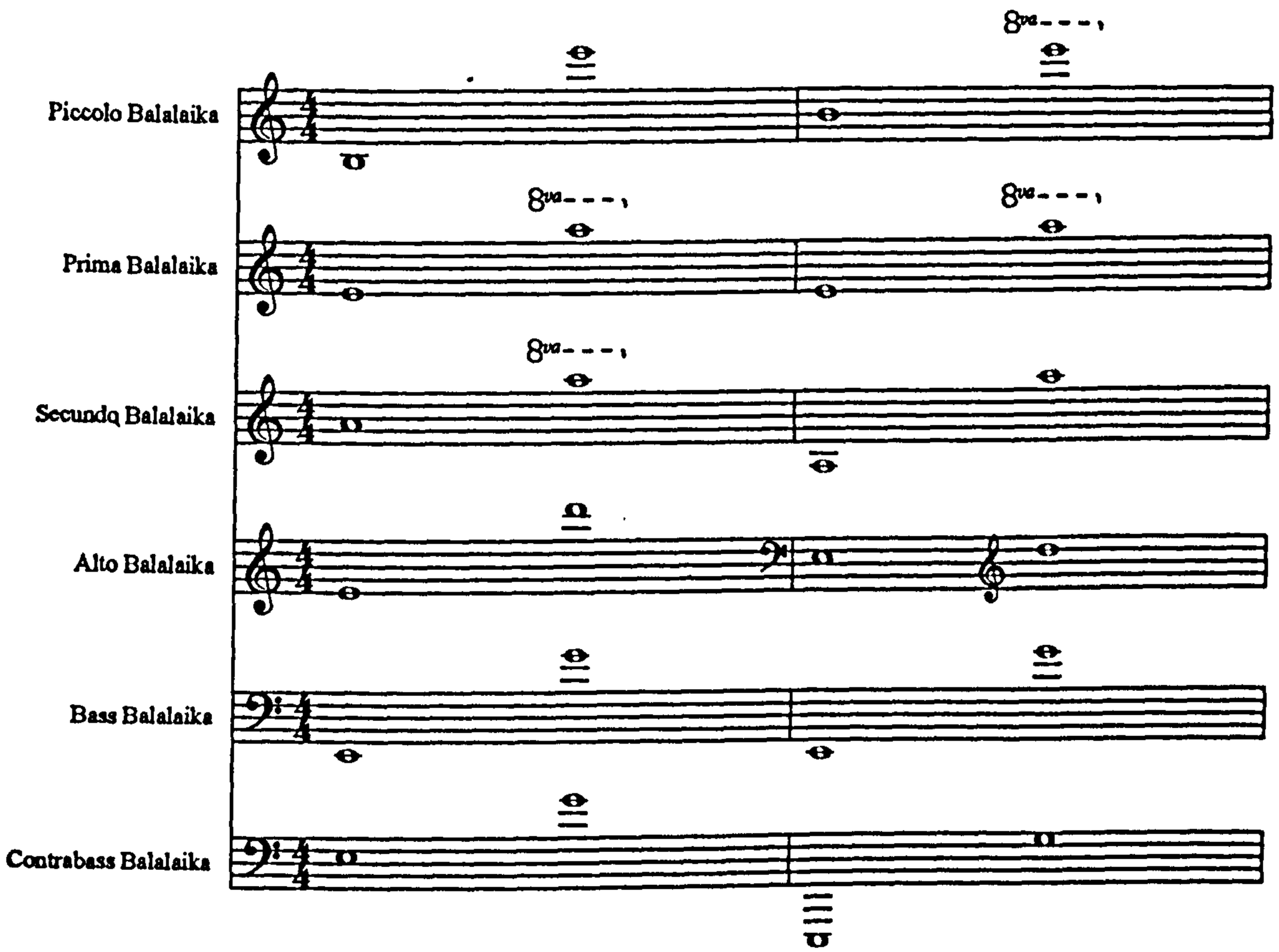
Other types of balalaikas have included the six-stringed balalaika. Here, each string of the instrument is doubled and requires the use of a plectrum and a playing technique similar to the mandolin. Kasura found the timbral qualities and sound projection capabilities of the instrument were poor.[7]

ADDITIONAL SECTIONS OF THE BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA

Other sections of the balalaika orchestra might include woodwind, percussion, gusli and bayan. The inclusion of such instruments into the orchestra followed the successful reconstruction and integration of the domra and gusli by instrument maker Semion Nalimov in 1896. The realisation that such additions could vary the palette of instrumental timbre prompted the later inclusion, for example, of native flutes, horns, spoons and tambourines. The bayan accordion was later added as an essential timbral constituent of Osipov's balalaika orchestra.

Bayan

This instrument is of the accordion type and is a remodelled version of the garmonik - a Russian accordion introduced from Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century.



Manuscript Example 12

Ranges of each member of the balalaika family

Two models of garmonik became the predecessors for the bayan and include the chromatic model (khromka) and a Viennese double-rowed type. The bayan we know today has no accordion keyboard but buttons on each side of the bellows. Various sizes of bayan are available and range from soprano and alto to baritone, bass and contra-bass. The right hand set of buttons on the instruments functions as a keyboard offering a single pitch per button pressed. The left hand side usually provides five rows of buttons which supply major and minor triads, dominant seventh chords, bass and contrabass octaves. The range of the instrument is notated below (manuscript example 13).

Manuscript Example 13

Range of the bayan

The bayan is an extremely versatile instrument. In its range of pitches supplied in the right hand it is able to achieve sophisticated patterns of scalic runs or ornaments at significantly fast tempos. As well as adding variety to the arrangement by taking over melodic lead from the prima domras or balalaikas, the instrument gives support to counter melodic material or provides variations on material. Kasura was adamant to point out in his draft for his book on the instruments of Andreyev's balalaika orchestra that any bayanist should be careful to blend in the sound of the instrument with the orchestra - the timbre often having the tendency to overpower the strings or to become monotonous if overused on melodic unison material.[8] The provision of triads from the left hand is also useful in ensuring an adequate blend within the ensemble. The performance of triads enables the instrument to support domra or balalaika chords thus filling out the harmony. The execution of these chords are often left to the player's discretion and as a result most orchestral bayan parts are written in the treble clef with chord patterns indicated by symbol only. The ability, however of the instrument to lead or support any section of the ensemble led Kasura to add:

> Its proper participation not only adds to the group's tonal sound - but also, it is most helpful in improving on the possible 'short-comings' of other sections.[9]

Gusli

This is one of the most popular and ancient of Russian stringed instruments. Evidence from archeological digs at Novgorod, where wing-shaped guslis were excavated, date the instrument as early as the thirteenth century.[10]

The instrument's morphology has varied and given rise to several different forms. The oldest is based on the psaltery whilst other types are named wing shaped and helmet shaped. These lap placed instruments commonly fall under the generic title of *zvonchatiye* (ringing) gusli as contrasted to the table top or keyboard versions often used in the orchestra. The instrument has a diatonic tuning tuned to the major scale and each type of instrument demands a different playing technique.

The helmet shaped gusli is plucked with the fingers of both hands whilst the strings of the wing shaped gusli are struck only with the right hand or with a plectrum. The left hand is then used to damp strings that are unwanted. Another version of the instrument, the table top gusli appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This version was used mainly within the imperial court on the houses of the gentry. In the eighteenth century the instrument became fully chromatic and in 1914 Nicolai Fomin constructed and introduced a one octave keyboard mechanism enabling the easy damping of strings throughout the octaves. The playing techniques demanded the right hand to pluck the strings with a plectrum and the left to operate the keyboard. The keyboard mechanism was optional and could be removed to revert the instrument to a simple plucked gusli.

The latter model is the most frequently used in the Russian balalaika orchestra where its role is not dissimilar to the harp in a conventional symphony orchestra. It provides melodic, counter melodic and arpeggiated or chordal accompaniment. Texturally, its chordal accompaniment helps to colour the timbre of any triadic chords played by the domras or balalaikas.

Woodwinds

The balalaika orchestra included woodwinds into its palette as early as 1898 when Nicolai Privalov assisted Andreyev in introducing woodwinds from families of shepherds' horns.

According to Kasura,[11] these instruments were required for 'special effects'. It is unclear here whether Kasura regarded the instruments as useful only for sinister and amusing noises or for the occasional timbral colouration. Whatever the case, these instruments despite their tuning problems with other instruments of the ensemble, had the capacity to carry a solo or unison line between them.

Shepherds' horns in the CIS often vary in materials and number of fingerholes or pipes from region to region. In some areas even the names are interchangeable. For instance the Belarussian version of the zhaleika is also known as dudka. In the following definitions I have chosen to give the most commonly used name across regions to each type of instrument. The following instruments were most frequently used in the balalaika orchestra:

Vladimir horns. These horns also known as 'rozhoks' were fashioned from wood covered with birch bark. They were originally played by shepherds or herdsmen and used as signalling horns. It was these shepherds who gradually transformed the rozhok from its purely functional role into a solo and ensemble instrument on which folk songs and dance music were improvised. The horn itself had five or six fingerholes capable of producing a diatonic scale. It was at the end of the nineteenth century that the shepherd N. Kondratyev from the Vladimir region formed a rozhok chorus which was popularly received. The term 'chorus' was in general usage for the ensemble because of the peculiar timbral qualities of the horn which had characteristics of the human voice. The Vladimir horn chorus appeared at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1884 and was subsequently used in performance venues on its own or in conjunction with the balalaika orchestras. The following variations of shepherds' horns constitute the other woodwind often employed in the orchestra.

Kuvikly. This is a Russian panpipe, a series of two to five bamboo tubes of equal diameter arranged in order of size. The agility and range of the pipes designate its role as a primarily solo instrument.

Dudka. This is a duct flute consisting of a tube 10cms to 35cms long with normally five to eight fingerholes. Constructed from wood or aluminium the instrument has a mellow velvety sound and produces a diatonic scale.

Svirel. This is a double end blown flute consisting of two unbound pipes each having three

fingerholes. The pipes are played simultaneously but held at an acute angle to each other. A later model added chromatic tuning facilitating its use within the orchestra otherwise several diatonic models are used to fulfil key signature requirements.

Zhaleika (also known as bryolka). The zhaleika is a single reed instrument. It has a short wooden tube often made of willow or elder from which emanates a bell of cow's horn or birch bark. Possessing between three to seven fingerholes it produces a diatonic scale. Its sound, dependent on register, has similarities to both the oboe and the clarinet and the instrument may be found in one or two pipe forms.

Detailed descriptions of these instruments may be found in the encyclopedia *Atlas of Musical Instruments of the Peoples Inhabiting the USSR*, K. Vertkov, G. Blagodatov and E. Yavotivskaya, State Publishers Music, Moscow 1963, rep.1975. Actual instruments may be seen at the Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture, Moscow and I include photographs of those instruments mentioned herein in appendix 2 of this dissertation.

Percussion

Loszki. These were wooden tablespoons held between the player's fingers. One spoon was also inserted into the player's boot. Their role is primarily rhythmic.

Treshchotka. Originally devised to accompany ritual wedding songs this is a set of up to 20-22 wooden plates which are threaded onto a cord or leather strap. As the ends of the cord are pulled, the plates hit each other and produce a rattling sound.

Buben. This is a kind of large tambourine or framedrum originating mainly in Belarus and the Ukraine. Small pairs of jingles are connected to the hooped frame and the instrument is struck with the hand or with a stick.

Nakras. These were small ceramic timpani which were used in the military and court music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Kolokolchiki. A type of glockenspiel.

Korobochka. A wooden resonant box struck with a stick.

The usual layout of a conventional balalaika orchestra including both families of domras and balalaikas and additional instruments such as gusli, woodwind or percussion is illustrated by the following extract from Andreyev's arrangement of *Svetit Mesiats (Bright Shines the Moon)* (manuscript example 14).

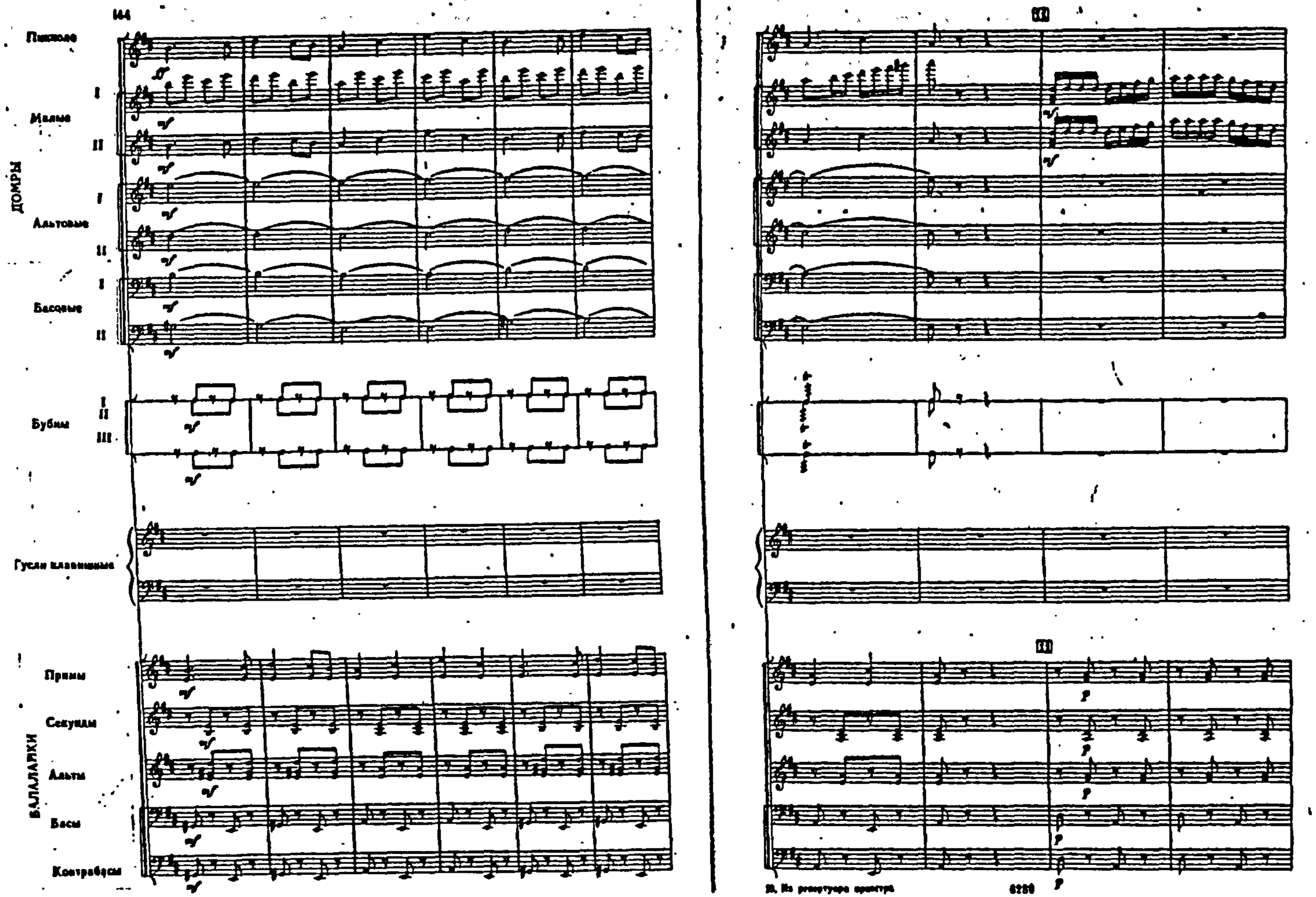
THE STRUCTURE OF THE BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA AND A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SEVERAL MODELS OF BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA STRUCTURE

The earliest evidence of the structure of the balalaika orchestra may be noted from Paserbsky's family of balalaikas designed for Andreyev in 1886-1887. This family of solely balalaikas included:

Diskant
Piccolo
Prima
Tenor
Alto
Bass
Contra-bass

Although we know of the Paserbsky family of instruments, no scores from this period exist to verify the structure or illustrate the likely distribution of instruments within the ensembles. However, some early scores dated pre-1920 have provided manuscript evidence of the structure of Russian balalaika orchestra. These describe an orchestra modelled on the structure laid down by Andreyev's colleague, the composer, pianist and scholar Nicolai Petrovich Fomin. The orchestra was made up of the following instruments:

Piccolo domra
Prima domras I and II
Alto domras I and II



Manuscript Example 14

Extract from V.V. Andreyev's arrangement of *Svetit Mesiats* illustrating the layout of a conventional balalaika orchestra.
Kasura collection arrangement 9 (EC892), University of Illinois

Tenor domras

Bass domras I and II

Contra-bass domras

Gusli

Nakri

Prima balalaikas

Secunda balalaikas

Alto balalaikas

Bass balalaikas

Contra-bass balalaikas

This instrumentation correlates with that given in figure 11, dated 1916 given in A. Polinka's Formirovanya Orkestra Russki Narodni Instrumantov Na Rubezhe XIX-XX Vekov (The Organisation of the Russian Native Instruments Orchestra between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Moscow 1977) (figure 11).[12] Here the types of instruments match those given by Fomin but different sizes of ensemble are also displayed. The same precise division of the Russian orchestra into two large groups of strings is also evident from the table given by V. Nasonov in his *Rukovodstvo k organizatsi narodnich orkestrov (Guide for the Organisation of the Folk Orchestra).* This was produced in 1913 as an aid to families, schools and military units who formed balalaika ensembles (figure 12).

In comparison to the Andreyev/Fomin model, both orchestras included varieties of other stringed, wind or percussion instruments mentioned earlier in this chapter. The most notable difference between the two structures is that Nasonov's table omits the tenor and contra-bass domras possibly because these instruments were not obligatory for the overall orchestral sound and were, in any case, superseded by the increase in numbers of other domras. It is probable that the availability and ease of playing other domras relegated the tenor and contra-bass to professional orchestras only.

	SMALL ENSEMBLE	MEDIUM SIZED ENSEMBLE	LARGE ENSEMBLE	FULL OR AUGMENTED ENSEMBLE
	8	19	26	50
BALALAIKAS				
Prima	2	4	8	16 (preferably more)
Secunda	1	2	2	4
Alto	1	2	2	4
Bass	1	1	2	4
Contra-bass	1	1	2	4
DOMRAS				
Piccolo	-	1	1	2
Prima	1	2	3 (2x1sts, 1x2nd)	6 (4x1sts, 2x2nds)
Alto	1	2	3 (2x1sts, 1x2nd)	6 (4x1sts, 2x2nds)
Tenor	-	-	-	1
Bass	-	2	2	2 (2x1sts, 1x2nd)
Contra-bass	-	2	1	1 (not obligatory)

Figure 11

Table dated 1916 from V.V. Andreyev's *Instructions and Brief Guide to Equipping the Full Russian Orchestra.* Reprinted in A. Polinka's *Formirovanya Orkestra Russki Narodni Instrumantov Na Rubezhe XIX-XX Vekov*

	SMALL ENSEMBLES				LARGE ENSEMBLES			
	5	7	10	14	16	20	25	30
Domras								
Piccolo	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	2
Prima	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4
Alto	-	-	1	2	2	2	3	4
Bass	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	3
Balalaikas								
Prima	1	2	3	3	3	4	6	6
Secunda	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3
Alto	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3
Bass	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3
Contra-bass	-	1	1	1	1	2	2	2

Figure 12

Table dated 1913 by V. Nasonov in his *Guide for the Organisation of the Folk Orchestra*

The simpler orchestral structure may also be noted in a table given in A. Iloochin and U. Shishakov's *Russki Narodni Orkestr Izdatelstvo Muzika (The Russian Native Orchestra Music Publication, Moscow 1970)* (figure 13). This manual is a guide for conductors and a guide to scores. It is apparent from the chart that for uses in the school or amateur environment a restricted use of instruments was implemented and strong collective sections of instruments were used throughout the structure to provide a full and resonant timbre within each section.

Kasura's view of what constitutes standard balalaika orchestra structure can be found amongst his notes. Here a table marked 'Typical Balalaika-Domra Orchestra Scoring'[13] (figure 14) surprisingly gives a model based on the Nasonov structure, omitting tenor and contra-bass domras. As well as the two major string sections of balalaikas and domras, the gusli and bayan are added in addition to percussion. Kasura's decision to model his typical structural set-up for the orchestra on Nasonov rather than Andreyev may be a logistical one based on which instruments are available amongst his performers and which instruments may be timbrally superfluous. Kasura's suggested table located in his notes supports Nasonov's choice of instrumental types but tends to shift the weight of string timbre from balalaikas to the domras, particularly in the smaller ensembles.

Whether the structure of the balalaika orchestra based on the Nasonov or Andreyev models changed throughout the twentieth century is a question which warrants further investigation. I have already noted some of the modifications made by Kasura. It is with the larger Russian-based orchestras, however, that other modifications may have evolved. Two such models are worthy of examination: the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra of Moscow and the Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra.

The Osipov's roots lie in the orchestra of Andreyev which was renamed the State Russian Folk Orchestra after Andreyev's death and later renamed the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra after Nikolai Petrovich Osipov (1901-1945), who was its conductor and director until his death in 1945. It was Osipov who was responsible for extending the palette of the orchestra by including native wind instruments, accordions and other strings. It was the Soviet government who later renamed the orchestra again as the State Russian Folk Orchestra and since 1963 the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra of Moscow has been under the direction of Victor Dubrovsky.

Domras									
Prima	3	4	5	5	5	7	7	7	8
Alto	2	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	6
Bass	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	4
Bayan	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
Percussion	As required								
Balalaikas									
Prima	2	2	2	4	4	5	6	6	8
Secunda	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3
Alto	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3
Bass	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Contra-bass	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3
	12	15	18	20	23	28	30	32	40

Figure 13

Table dated 1970 by A. Illoochin and U. Shishakov in *Russki Narodni Orkestr Izdatelstvo Muzika*

	BASIC	COMPACT	MEDIUM	INTER-MEDIATE	LARGE	FULL
DOMRAS						
Piccolo	-	-	-	1	1	2
Prima I	1	2	3	4	7	10
Prima II	1	2	3	3	5	8
Alto I	1	2	3	4	5	8
Alto II	-	1	2	3	4	6
Bass I	1	1	1	2	2	4
Bass II	-	-	-	1	2	2
BALALAIKAS						
Prima	1	2	3	6	10	15
Secunda	-	1	1	2	3	4
Alto	1	1	2	2	3	4
Bass	-	-	1	1	2	3
Contra-bass	1	1	2	3	5	6
Bayan	-	1	1	2	4	5
Gusli	-	-	-	1	2	2
Timpani	-	-	-	-	X	X
Triangle	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tambourine	X	X	X	X	X	X
Small drum	-	-	-	X	X	X
Cymbals	-	-	-	X	X	X
Bass drum	-	-	-	X	X	X
TOTALS (excluding percussion)	7	14	22	35	55	79

Figure 14

Walter Kasura's table entitled *Typical Balalaika-Domra Orchestra Scoring*, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, undated

Similarly the Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra which grew out of the original Imperial Russian Court Orchestra had developed its palette along comparative lines to Osipov's and introduced conventional symphonic instruments into the orchestra's structure. The typical Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra and the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra models would therefore be made up of the following instruments described in the following tables (figures 15 and 16).

Each table clearly demonstrates the division of the two basic string sections into domras and balalaikas. Both the 1913 Nasonov table and the 1916 Andreyev table display a preponderance of balalaikas. It is this group that forms the major string section of the orchestra. In contrast, the tables demonstrating use of instruments later in the twentieth century - these include the Kasura, Andreyev Orchestra, Osipov orchestra and the 1970 table from Iloochin and Shishakov's manual - display a shift to a predominance of domras.

A strict comparison of the models is necessarily limited by the absence of the exact number of instruments and the method of distribution within the various orchestras. Such diversities in size, whether small, medium or large simply imply the conductor's preference for an ensemble's structure or the demands of a score which perhaps required a featured set of timbres from a particular section. Within Kasura's approach the availability of players and instruments in the region certainly contributed to this factor.

Deviations of balalaika orchestra structure based on extant models and the local availability of performers also provided variations on the models denoted. In Kasura's draft document *Russian Folk Instruments Orchestras, Organisation and Arrangements*[14] Kasura's preference for the smallest ensemble is:

Prima domra I

Alto domra I

Alto balalaika

Contra-bass balalaika

Kasura adds:

Domras	
Piccolo	1
Prima I	9
Prima II	4
Alto I	6
Alto II	4
Tenor	1
Bass I	4
Bass II	1
Balalaikas	
Prima I	7
Prima II	2
Alto	2
Bass	3
Contra-bass	3
Bayan	2
Tenor gusli	1
Keyboard & ringing gusli	2
Double bass	2
Flute	3
Oboe/English horn	2
Clarinet	1
Bassoon	1
Percussion	3
TOTAL	64

Figure 15 (left)

Example of a table entitled *Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra Typical Structure* located in the handwritten notes of Walter Kasura, Kasura collection, University of Illinois, undated

Domras	
Piccolo	1
Prima	12
Mezzo soprano	4
Alto	10
Bass	6
Balalaikas	
Prima	10
Alto	2
Bass	2
Contra-bass	6
Bayan	2
Garmoniki	
Soprano	2
Baritone	1
Bass	4
Gusli	2
Vladimir Horns	
Soprano	2
Alto	1
Tenor	1
Bass	5
Flute	2
Oboe/English horn	2
TOTAL	77

Figure 16 (right)

Example of a table entitled *Osipov Balalaika Orchestra Typical structure* located in the handwritten notes of Walter Kasura, Kasura collection, University of Illinois, undated

For a 'quintet' you can add either a prima balalaika or a prima domra II - or both. Or you can add an accordion player whose instrument has a low-tone reed of the cello timbre. This tone fits well with the instruments of the balalaika-domra family.[15]

The ideal octet or chamber ensemble would include:

Prima domra I

Prima domra II

Alto domra I

Alto domra II

Bass domra (optional)

Prima balalaika

Secunda balalaika (optional)

Alto balalaika

Contra-bass balalaika

Accordion (optional)

Kasura points out that a second prima domra I and alto domra I may be added and thereafter his prioritisation for additions is as follows:

+ 2 prima balalaikas

+ 1 prima domra I

+ 1 prima domra II

+ 1 alto domra I

+ 1 alto domra II

+ 1 alto balalaika

+ 1 bass balalaika or a second contra-bass balalaika

Thereafter, you can add almost anyone to the group to reach the classical concert-type of orchestra. Try, however, to maintain a balance between the various sections of the orchestra. Always have your highs, your lows, and a solid middle-range of instruments.[16]

Other deviations cited by Kasura include the 'Cultural Folk Ensemble' which he describes as a variant of the Classic Concert-type Balalaika Orchestra. The orchestra is structured as a result of:

The absence of players to cover all the key or vital instruments.[17]

Within such a structure it is necessary that available instruments would take some of the missing parts. Other instruments such as piano or accordion may also fill in for missing instruments. In his letter to Michael Skupin,[18] Kasura offers the following advice about the use of accordion in the absence of necessary instruments:

However, considering the lack of advanced and experienced Domra and Balalaika players - a 'permanent' accordion player becomes almost a necessity. With such instrument, you can fill in the 'voids', supplement weak sections - causing a great improvement in the group's over-all presentation. The trick is to orchestrate the accordion parts wisely and to instruct the player in all the art of ensemble playing. He or she has to be integrated into the over-all sound - projecting out there from only on an infrequent and necessary occasion.

The use of accordion, however, was not simply a bench substitute to be played whenever an instrument was unavailable. Kasura viewed the accordion as an essential timbre that could colour the material when necessary and provide a more suitable timbral blend for balalaikas and domras. In Kasura's opinion, this was preferable to the dynamics and timbres of supplemental sections of woodwinds that were often added by arrangers:

Your woodwind, and accordion section, should be carefully monitored and the instrumentalist taught the technique of 'blending'. There is a time for them to 'come out' and be heard strongly - and there is a time when they have to lay low and blend into the overall background.

On the tapes, your woodwinds were too overpowering - they did not compensate. I realise that this may be somewhat of a problem for them, in a group of your size dependent on generally soft-sounding strings. That is why I do not use woodwinds or brass. Instead, I orchestrate for one accordion only. Such accordion parts do not only play melodic backup or piano parts. They also do not play throughout the entire number on every occasion ... only when deemed needed.[19]

Kasura's second option for a variation of the ideal ensemble is the Gypsy Ensemble. Here the group is simply constructed from available performers. Clearly, highly professional arranging techniques are required here to compensate for the limitations of what might be an odd collection of mismatched instrumental timbres. Whatever the size or structure of the ensemble we can determine from Kasura's writings that for a successful instrumental mix, the emphasis within the blend of the instruments must lie in mainly bringing forward the

instruments forming the middle range of the orchestration. It is within this range that Kasura's 'full-sounding tonality'[20] would be achieved.

Now, we know that mid-range instruments as a rule do not project as well as those involving upper and lower ranges. This has to be compensated for by placement of microphones in front of these sections, by the players using a 'hard' plectrum and playing louder or by adding more players or by supporting the section with the use of an accordion playing in a subdued low range tone. It is also quite possible that the strings used are of too thin a gauge or too metallic to reproduce a proper mid-range tonality.

THE SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS WITHIN THE BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA

According to Iloochin and Shishakov's manual,[21] the following spatial arrangement (figure 17) usually applies to the string sections.

This scheme differs in placement from that quoted by Kasura in his draft for *The Instruments of Andreyev's Balalaika Orchestra*. In this work the placement, according to Kasura, follows the plan executed by some of the first Russian musicians to appear the USA and specifically those who participated in the Andreyev schools. Kasura gives two diagrams for both a small and large balalaika ensemble (figures 18 and 19).

The placement of accordions does not appear in the small grouping in the cited Kasura document but I have included it on the figure overleaf. This is because a similar spatial layout for both small and large ensembles including accordions does actually appear in a letter from Kasura to Michael Skupin dated 13 July 1979. Since the layout in the letter matches the layout in the draft article it is likely the accordions are a simple omission by Kasura in his draft paper.

It is with the larger ensemble including other timbral sections that the placing of sections becomes a more aurally subjective task. An increased number of prima domras or balalaikas, woodwinds, guslis, native horns and percussion obviously displaces positioning within the orchestra. In these instances it is both the score and the ear of the musical director that guides the positioning of sections. Kasura's documents and letters demonstrate

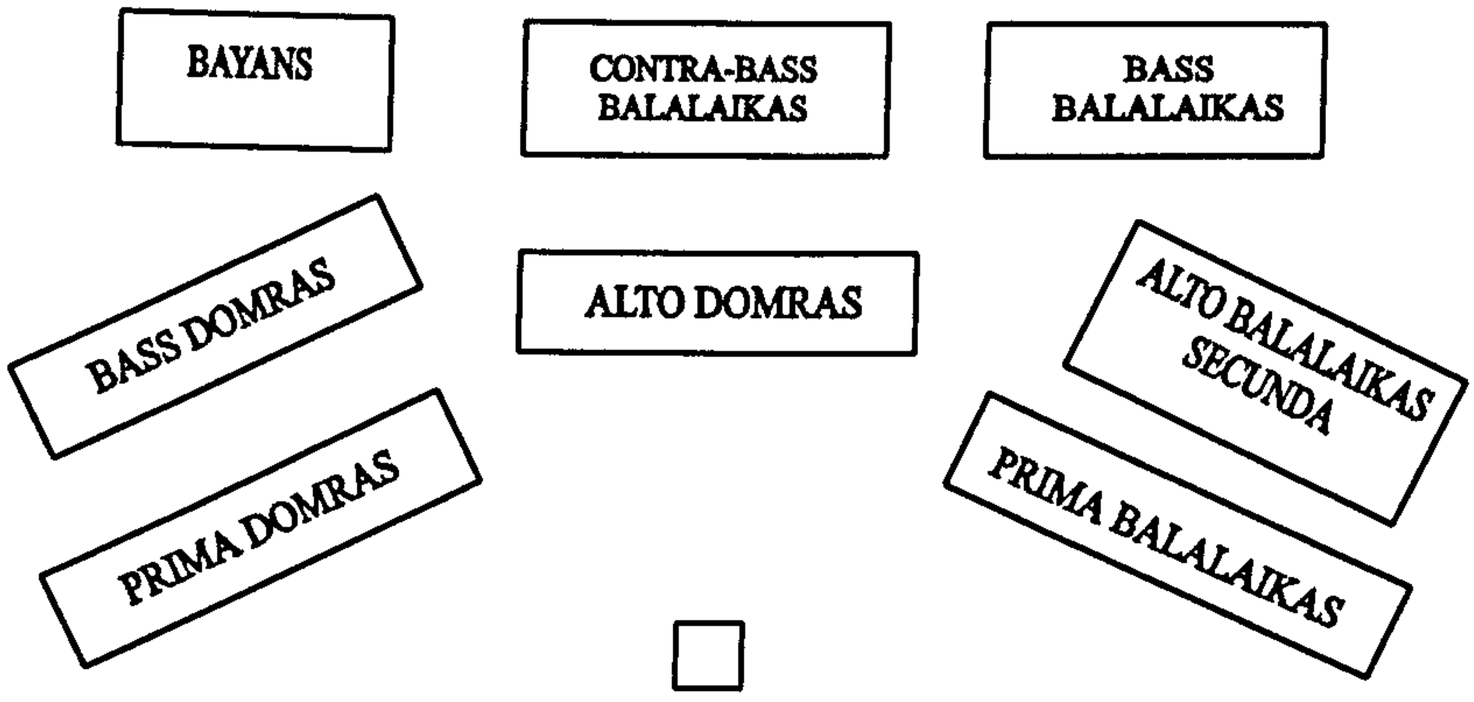


Figure 17

Diagram of the spatial arrangement the balalaika orchestra according to A. Illoochin and U. Shishakov in *Russki Narodni Orkestr Izdatelstvo Muzika*, Moscow 1970

SMALL GROUP

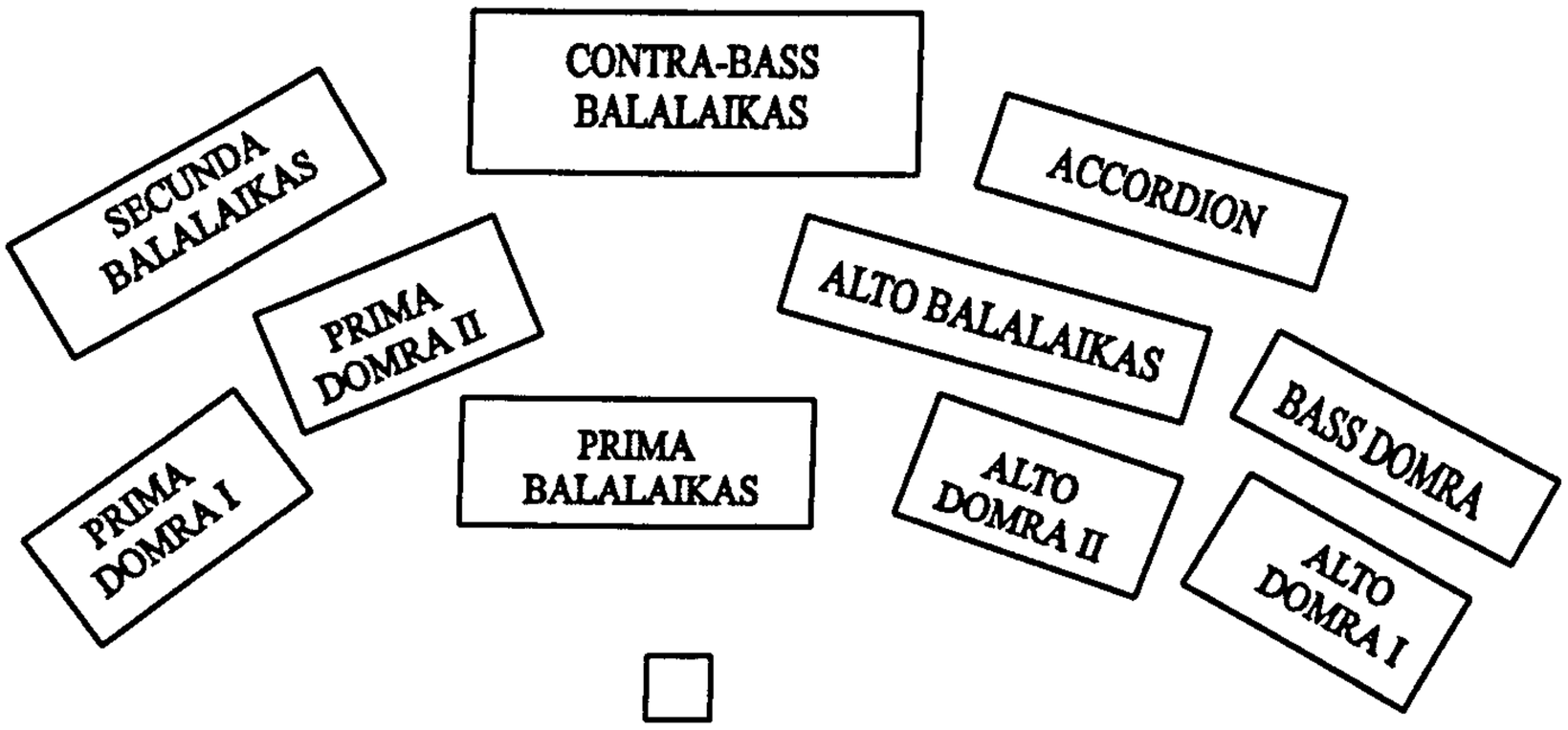


Figure 18

Diagram of the spatial arrangement of a small balalaika orchestra according to Walter Kasura. From Kasura's draft for *The Instruments of Andreyev's Balalaika Orchestra* New York, April 1980, p.42

LARGE GROUP

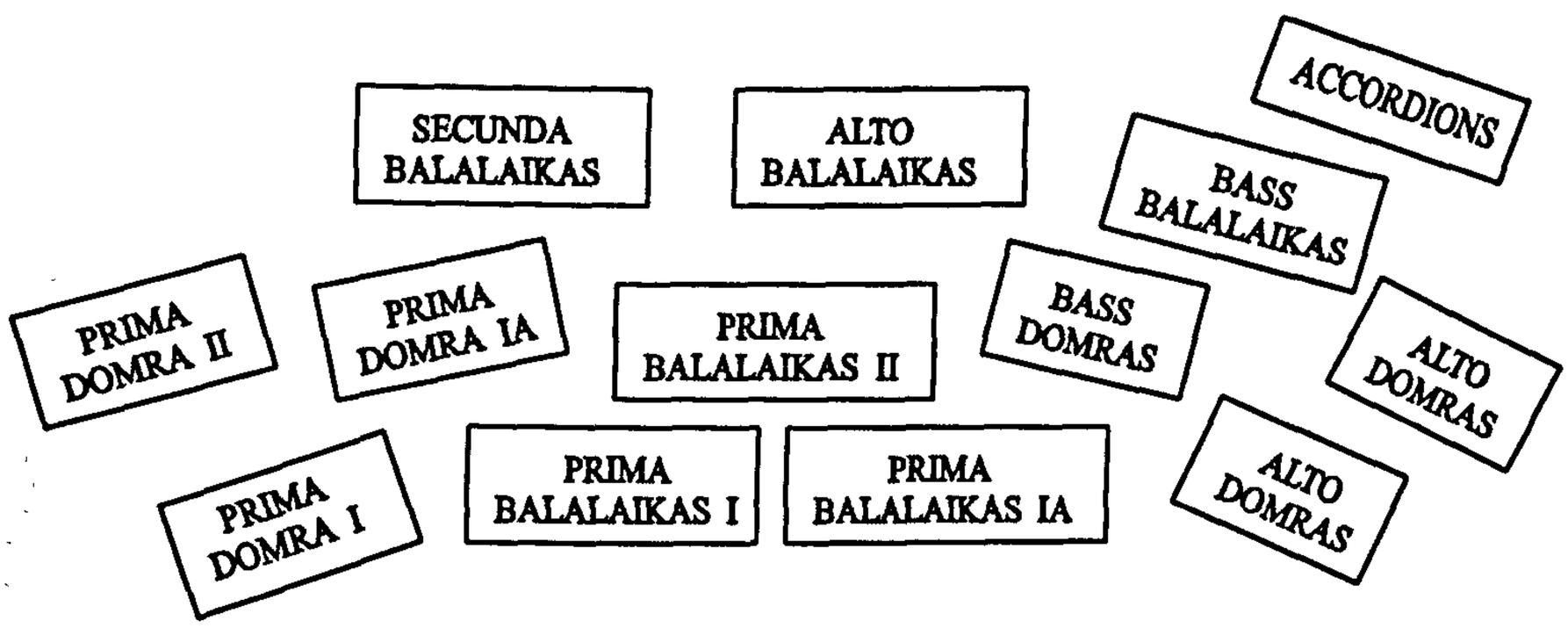


Figure 19

Diagram of the spatial arrangement of a large balalaika orchestra according to Walter Kasura. From Kasura's draft for *The Instruments of Andreyev's Balalaika Orchestra* New York, April 1980, p.43

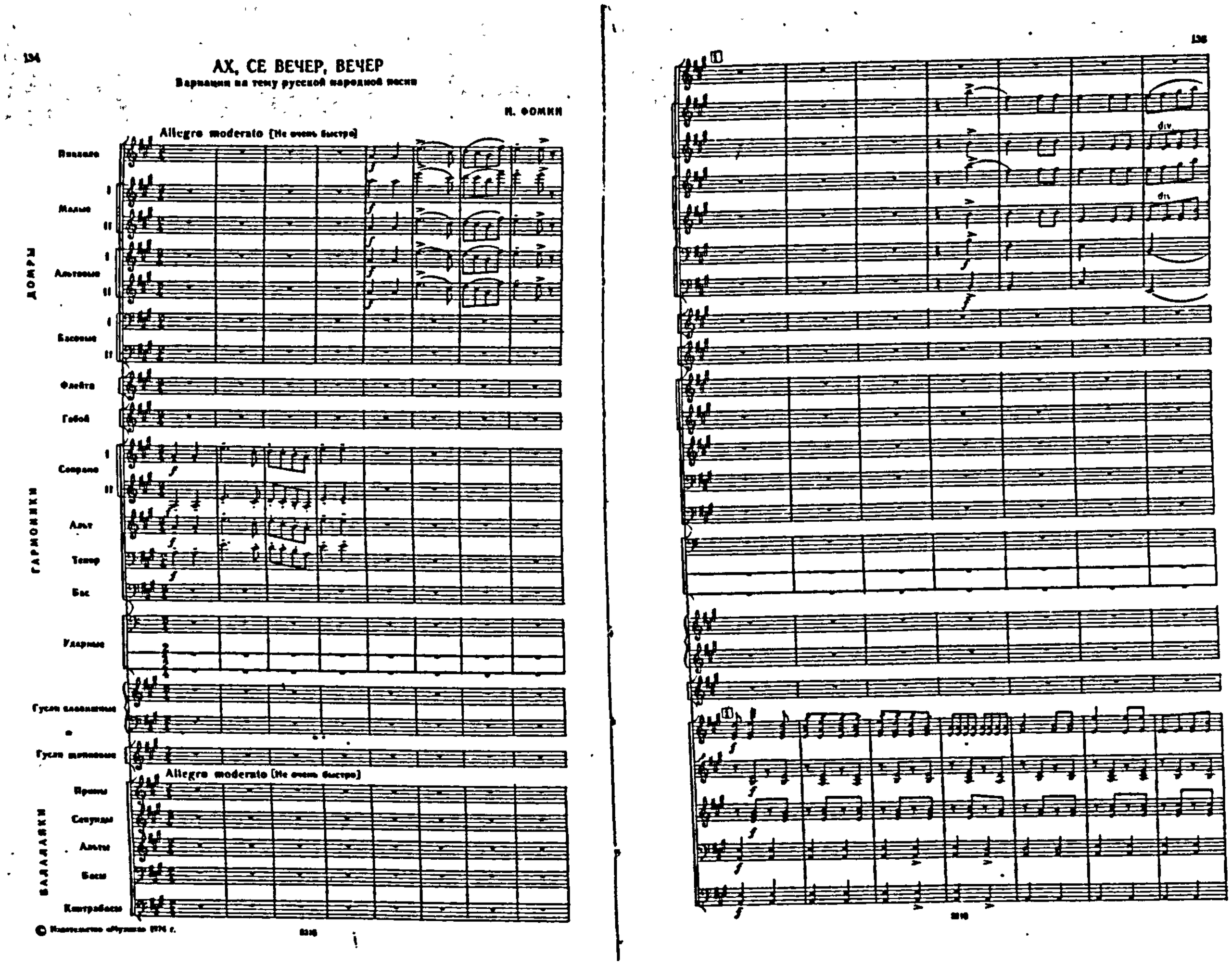
that any ensemble must secure its own individualistic blend and sound. To simply be an imitation of the major Russian orchestras was, in Kasura's terms, to lose out on the orchestra's individuality:

> The true Balalaika-Domra sounds you seek to obtain can be achieved. I do not think you wish to be a poor imitation of such leading Soviet groups as the Osipov, Moscow Radio, or the Beryozka orchestras. Rather, you should be working on developing your own style and approach. One that will appeal to both you and your audience. Accordingly, it might be worthwhile to restrict the use of woodwinds and other supplemental sections to an as needed basis.[22]

BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA SCORES AND ARRANGEMENTS

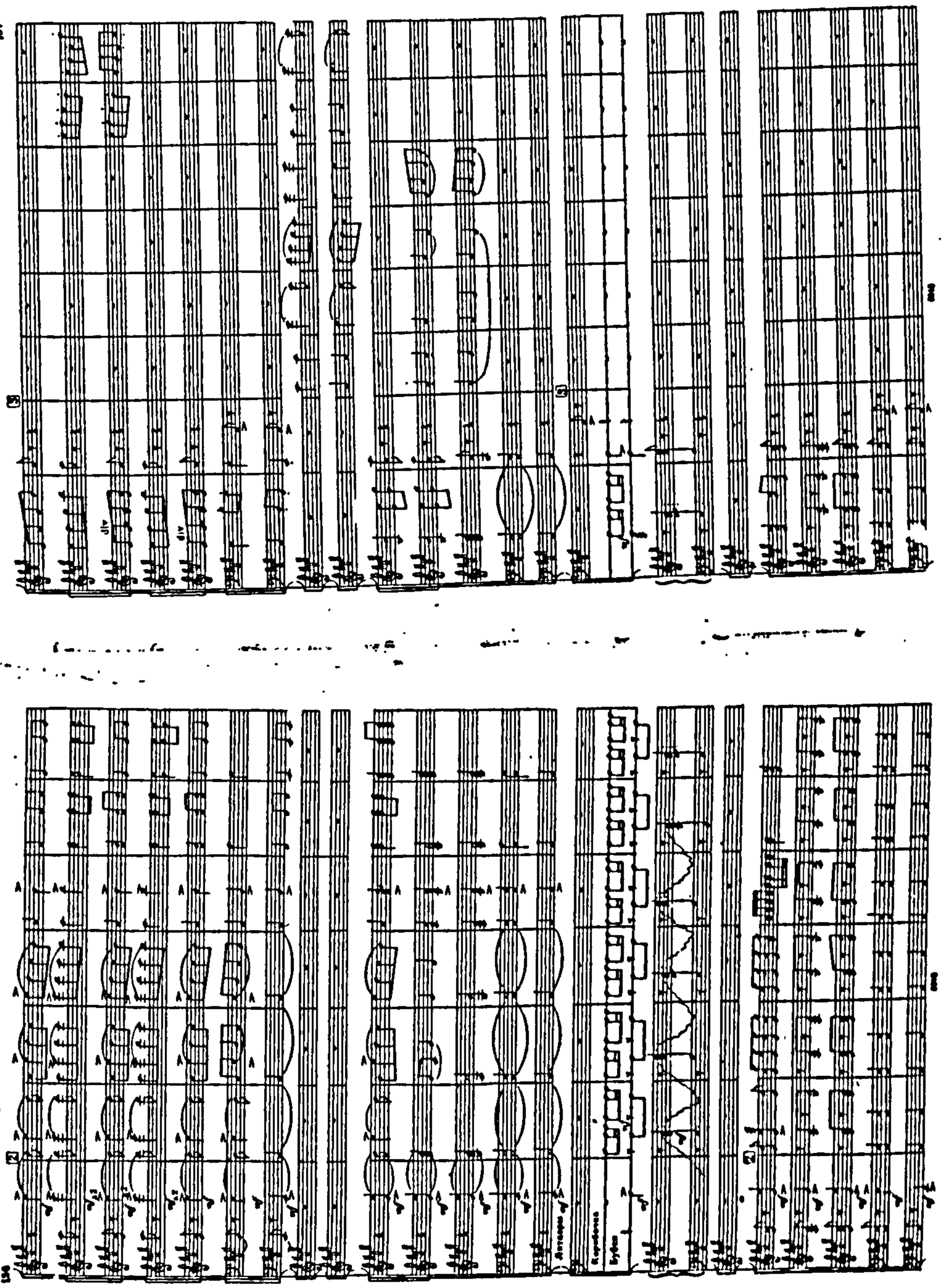
The production of legible and accurate scores for balalaika orchestra was a brainchild of the composer Nicolai Petrovich Fomin. Fomin had assisted Andreyev in building the structure of the balalaika ensemble. Fomin's template for the production of scores became widely accepted before 1920 and was based on the following organisation of staves: domras at the top followed by bayan, percussion, and gusli sections. Balalaikas occupied the lower staves of the manuscript. The example of the published Fomin score *Ach, Se Vyechyer, Vyechyer (Behold, the Evening)* illustrates this distribution (manuscript example 15). Kasura himself also advocates and recommends this layout as a typical balalaika-domra orchestra scoring in his draft for *The Instruments of Andreyeev's* (sic.) *Balalaika Orchestra*.[23]

The distribution of parts within the work illustrates the passing of thematic melodic material from instrument to instrument or section to section. The first statement by the accordions is imitated by the domras and extended before the theme is passed to flute and oboe at section 3. Section 4 moves towards a section 5 tutti where the tied crotchet to quaver on the transition of sections marks a notion of some syncopated treatment of the material. This, however, quickly reverts to the normal detached treatment of the material before the section 6 statement of the theme on the bass domras and bass balalaikas. A solo statement at 7 on flute is given a tutti response at 8 and 9. Overall, the orchestration matches the guidelines discussed in this chapter for the distribution of melodic, harmonic or rhythmic material. A similar illustration of instrumental roles is found in the discussion of the folk song *Kalinka* in Chapter 4. The orchestral structure of the piece supports Kasura's first model of arranging mentioned in his letter to Michael Skupin dated 13 July 1979, that:



Manuscript Example 15

N.P. Fomin's full score for *Ach, Se Vyechyer, Vyechyer,* Iyedatelstvo Muzyka, 1974, pp.134-144

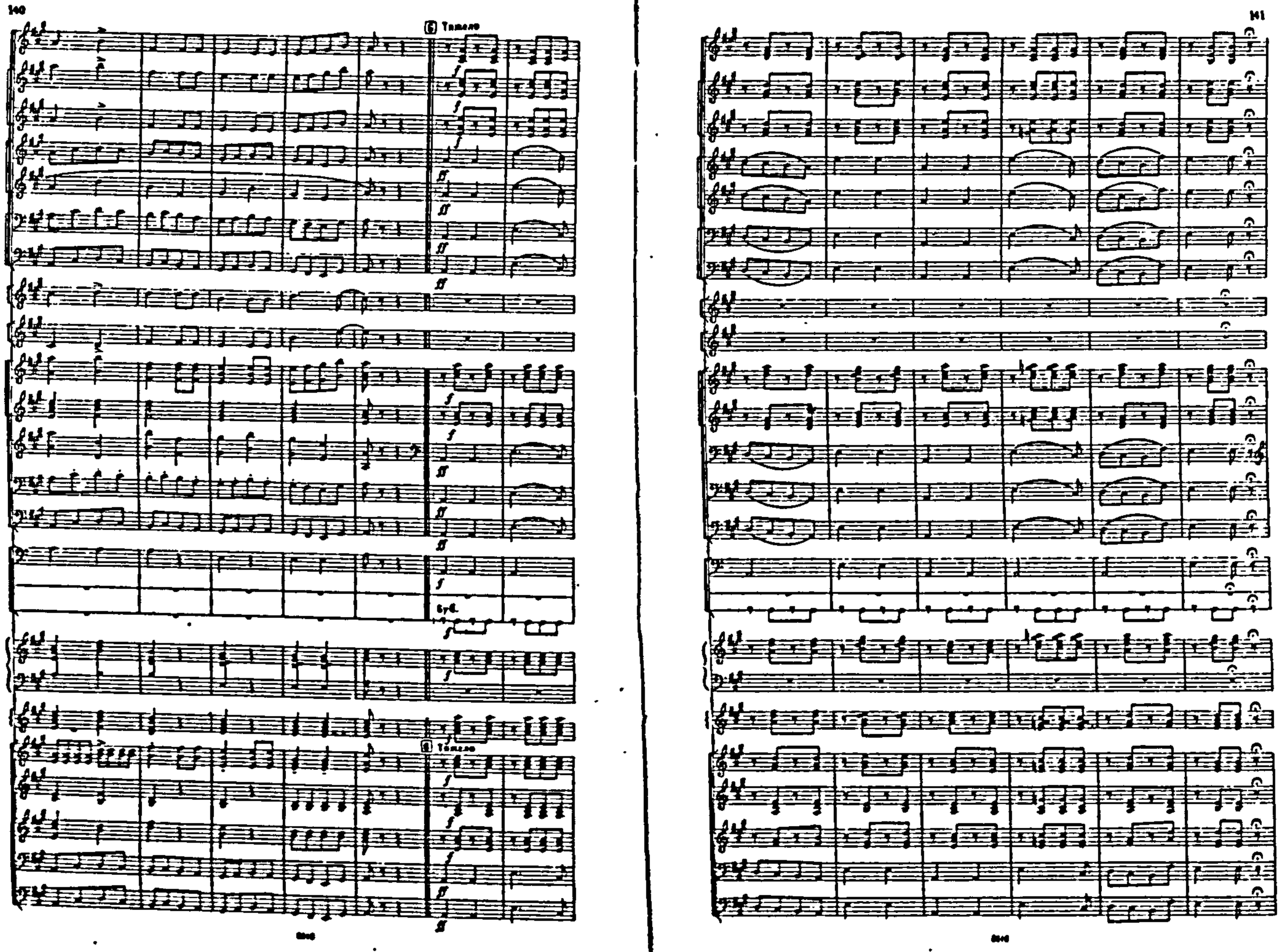


Manuscript Example 15 contd

N.P. Fomin's full score for *Ach, Se Vyechyer, Vyechyer*, Iyedatelstvo Muzyka, 1974, pp.134-144

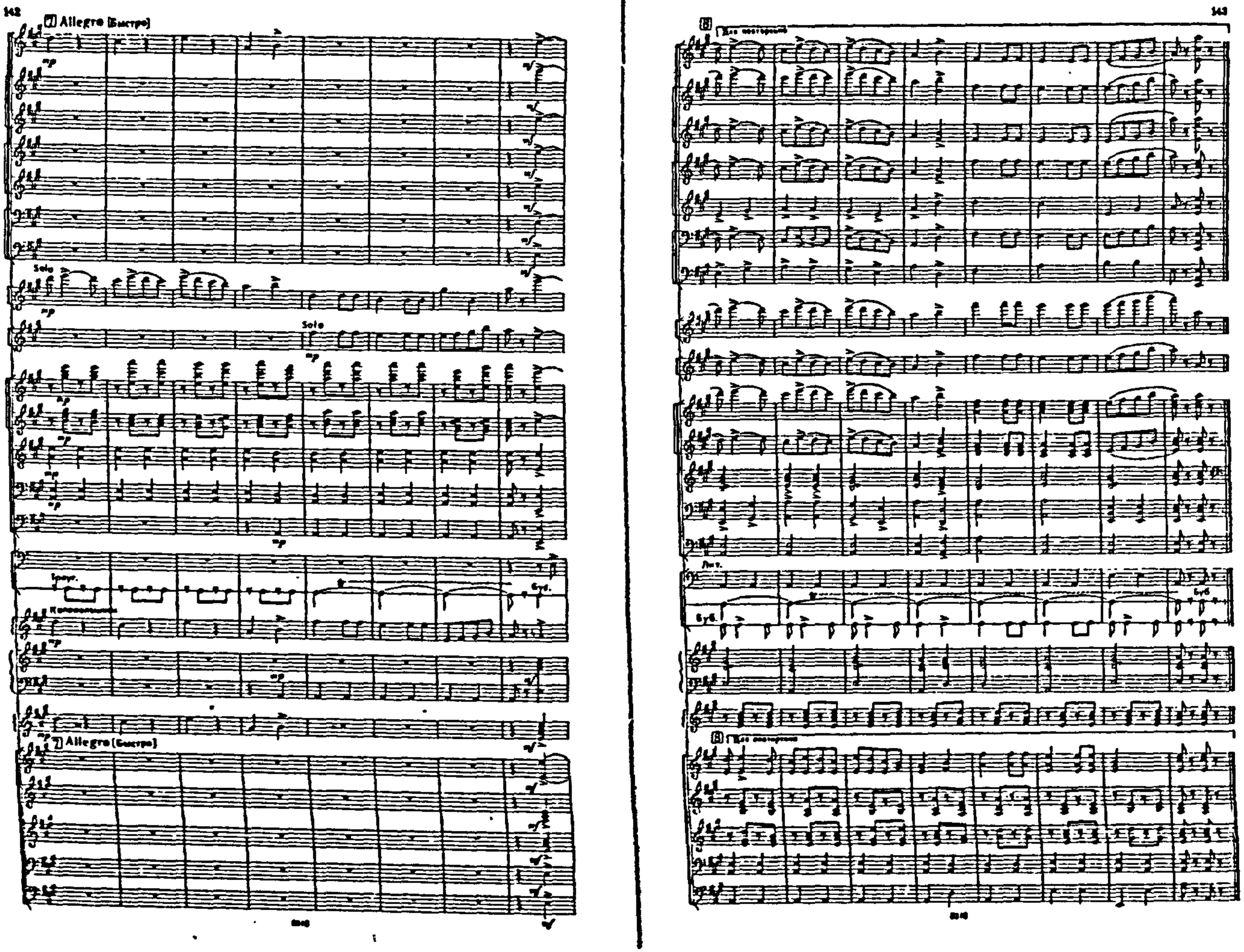
Manuscript Example 15 contd

N.P. Fomin's full score for *Ach, Se Vyechyer, Vyechyer,* Iyedatelstvo Muzyka, 1974, pp.134-144



Manuscript Example 15 contd

N.P. Fomin's full score for *Ach, Se Vyechyer, Vyechyer,* Iyedatelstvo Muzyka, 1974, pp.134-144



Manuscript Example 15 contd

N.P. Fomin's full score for *Ach, Se Vyechyer, Vyechyer,* Iyedatelstvo Muzyka, 1974, pp.134-144

Manuscript Example 15 contd

N.P. Fomin's full score for *Ach, Se Vyechyer, Vyechyer,* Iyedatelstvo Muzyka, 1974, pp.134-144

In arranging slower numbers in folk music, the style of the Russian a capella choirs is often duplicated. This has a zapevala (lead singer) who may or may not be joined by a second voice in harmony (the podgoloskni). On occasion even a third voice, in harmony, is used. The entire group then joins in the chorus.[24]

The variational aspects of the arrangement tend to lie in the textural variation of the theme rather than any melismatic elaboration or decoration. Apart from the hint of syncopation, the passage of material from section to section, and the acceleration of tempo, any variations of material are redundant here. This is contrary to what we experience in Chapter 4's discussion of arrangements of the Russian folk song *Kalinka*, as well as in Kasura's second model for orchestral arrangement, namely that:

In lively folk dance-songs and numbers, the technique is to vary the melody line from its original 'simple' form to one using some syncopation, followed, in turn, by full variations. The build-up continues using key changes, tempo changes, and even switching the melody line or variant thereof, from section to section.[25]

In terms of manuscripts by Kasura within the Kasura collection, Kasura has based his method for arranging on the structural model cited above - a build of variation and complexity - as well as on traditional harmonic and structural conventions applicable to any genre of arranging. This clear and simple approach to his *oeuvre* is demonstrated by his undated guide (document 3) to other inexperienced or younger orchestrators. The cyrillic text appearing under the heading 'Linear Harmony' describes the aforementioned technique of the *podgoloskni*.[26]

In addition to these guidelines Kasura's handwritten notes, sketches for drafts, and copyright pending papers allow an insight into how the arranger should accommodate the varying degrees of imaginative creation and expertise within an ensemble. Such documents are an important source and serve to authenticate the methods of orchestration in Kasura's manuscripts (document 4).

The issue of Kasura's emphasis on the skill and artistry of the arranger has been discussed and appears to be a lynchpin in Kasura's definition of what will constitute a successful arrangement. However, whilst potentially any melody could be chosen by an arranger for treatment, it was Kasura's opinion that not every selected melody would benefit by

ARRANGEMENT GUIDELINES FOR RUSSIAN FOLK MUSIC

AVOID	UTILIZE
SIMPLE TRIADS CONSECUTIVELY.	ELEMENT of SURPRISE
MAJOR & MINOR 6ths FOR DISSONANCE	SEARCH FOR DEEP EMOTIONAL CONTENT.
EXCESSIVE USE of PARALLELISM	USE INTRODUCTION - FOR WELL KNOWN MELODY
~~MODULATION~~	REHARMONIZE - MELODY - TONIC & DOM
KEY CHANGE AS FORM of VARIATION.	MUSICAL TEXT: INTRO, SIMPLE MELODY,
ARBITRARY KEY CHANGES USING DOMINANT	DEVELOPMENT, COMPLEMENTARY MELODIES
MELODY LINE FOR BASS SOLO	CLIMAX, ENDING
	ORIGINAL MELODIC LINE FOR BASS S/O
	VERTICAL HARMONY: OPEN HARMONY +
	MAJOR 2nds → DISSONANT INTERVAL
	DISSONANT TRIADS

LINEAR HARMONY : 2-3 VOICES WITH PASSING TONES (SEMICHROMATIC TRANSITIONS); PARALLEL 3rds, 5ths, OCTAVES POSSIBLE
USE 'ПАРАЛЛЕЛИЗМ'.

REHARMONIZE MELODY TO : RELATIVE MINOR OR RELATIVE MAJOR

ESTABLISH NEW RHYTHM PATTERNS WITH MELODIC LINE NOT ACCOMPANIMENT

VARIATIONS : MAJOR, MINOR SCALE
ARPEGGIATED FORMS
CHROMATIC SCALE
POLYPHONIC
CONTIGUOUS
DISASSOCIATED

KEY CHANGE : REWRITE MELODY TO ACHIEVE KEY CHANGE
CHANGE KEY WITH NO MODULATION
MODULATION WITH PIVOTAL CHORD

Document 3

Walter Kasura's handwritten sheet *Arrangement Guidelines for Russian Folk Music,*

Kasura collection, University of Illinois, undated

(1)

General [illegible]

The successful performance of any balalaika orchestra is dependent on two essential factors:

1) the skill and creative ability of the group's director and;

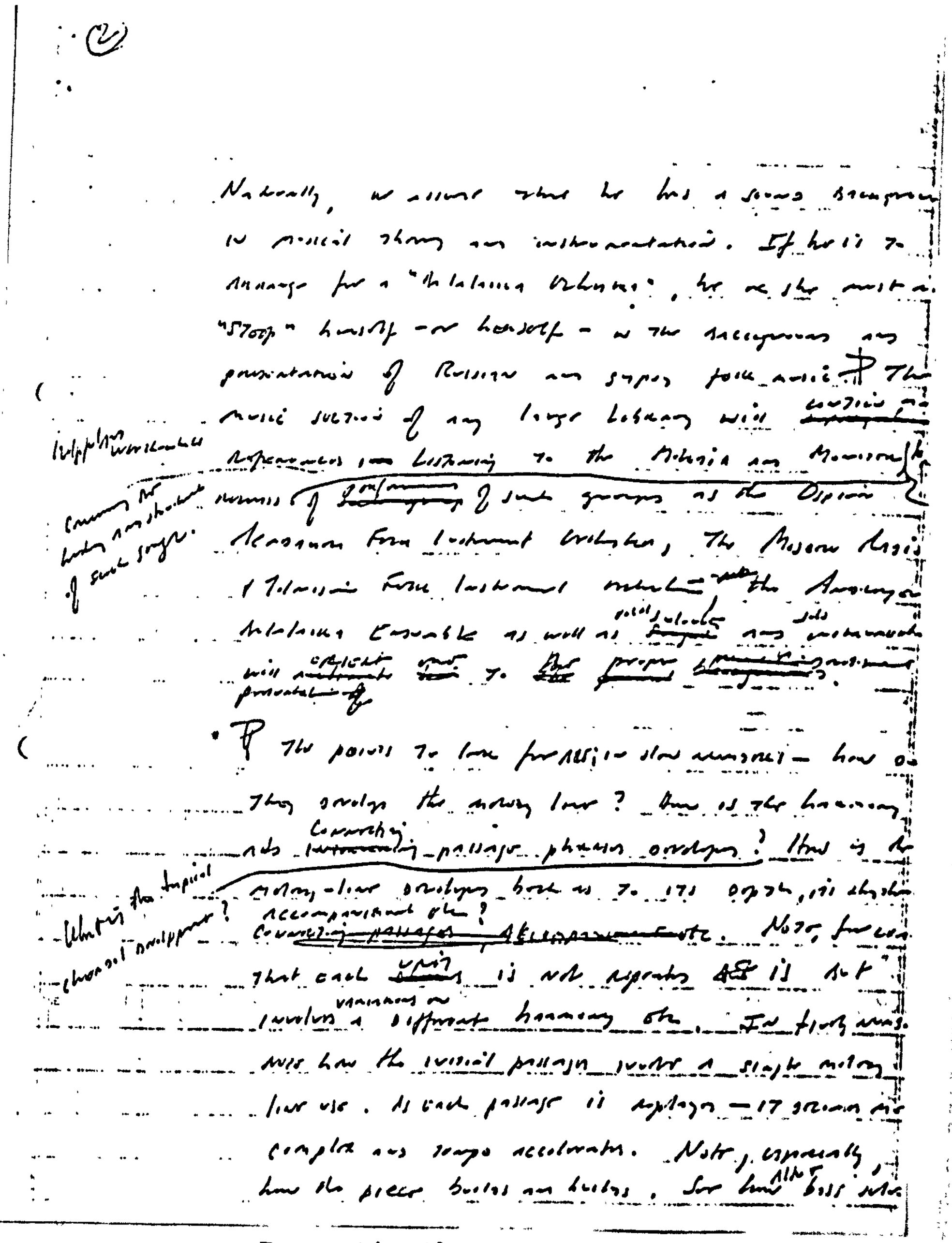
2) the level of proficiency in the use of instruments by the group's conductor (or director) and obtained from its instrumentalists - one is unlikely to obtain acceptable.

The importance of the director's skill and ability to create the tone and orchestral sounds of Russian folk music can not be overemphasized. In this regard [illegible] must the primary responsibility of the choice of a proper tune to be orchestrated. Obviously, one may experience an unusual situation can be encountered by a string ensemble. In the case of a balalaika orchestra, the selection of a proper key is most important.

Instrumentation sheets are kept to show the range of the instruments and the capabilities of the instrumentalists. The director must, ideally, the capabilities of each artist of the orchestra and arrange the work accordingly.

Document 4

An example of Walter Kasura's handwritten comments on arranging for balalaika orchestra, Kasura collection, University of Illinois, undated



Document 4 contd

An example of Walter Kasura's handwritten comments on arranging for balalaika orchestra,

Kasura collection, University of Illinois, undated

orchestration for balalaika ensemble. Nor could any arrangement be successfully executed without bearing in mind the technical capability of each player. In practice these choices determined whether a complicated scalic passage was given to a balalaikist of average ability or to a competent bayanist. The distribution of timbre therefore could not simply be made on creative criteria and pointed to the ensemble usually being a collection of amateurs rather than a professional group. This approach was also favoured by the conductor-arrangers Serge Larionoff and Billy Goldes who wrote accurately for the ability of each player of the Detroit balalaika orchestra:

> If he had a bad bass player he didn't write a good part. If he had a strong secunda he got an ad lib they could do.[27]

Kasura also advocates that printed manuscript scores may need extensive revision to suit special requirements of the balalaika orchestra. Such revision is essential because in many cases parts are only available within an archive and even some of these parts are missing. This results in the production of a score from incomplete sets of instrumental parts. The danger, however, in reconstituting many incomplete scores lies in the fact that many errors are passed on through generations of hand copying - thus making the exercise doubly difficult for arrangers attempting new orchestrations from extant scores. Where such scores require revisions and extensive rewriting the question of whether editing and restructuring should take place at all may be asked. The notion of composing and orchestrating a score from scratch which fully services the talents and requirements of the ensemble may be deemed a more appropriate action. Equally problematic according to Kasura is the distribution of printed Russian instrumental parts to ensembles which do not possess the necessary instrumentation to execute the full arrangement as printed. In this scenario, Kasura again advises that the re-orchestration of such material should take place. This would accommodate an accurate new balance of timbres, texture and dynamics suitable for the available instruments within the ensemble. The pattern that emerges here is not only one of evolution but of adaptation based on major modifications - the revision of a complete score, the adaptation to suit a different instrumental line-up or the re-composition or re-arrangement of material found with incomplete parts. Such modifications alongside changes in personnel and levels of performers' technical capabilities became significant stages in the development of the balalaika orchestra in the USA.

DEVELOPMENTS IN BALALAIKA ARRANGEMENTS AS A RESULT OF ENHANCED PERFORMANCE TECHNIQUE

Arrangements for balalaika ensembles, however, did not only modify themselves through the metamorphosis of the ensemble's structure or the abilities of the group. Developments in instrumental technique acquired by performers of greater proficiency enabled new breakthroughs in orchestral arrangements. Advances in performance technique were mainly concentrated on the use of the right hand.

It was with the emergence of new techniques for the right hand that differences, for example, in the execution of traditional folk music were observed. The right hand, in folk material, had usually fulfilled a pattern of strumming which ignored any attention to the strong or weak accents of beats. Through the introduction of classical work or specially composed folk music to the repertoire, it became essential to observe the nuances of beats and the relationship of these beats to the development of material within a phrase, a section or the overall architecture of the work. By utilising the right hand to differentiate strong or weak patterns greater emphasis was placed on both phrasing and dynamics - the latter influenced by the intensity of the strike of the right hand. Such a technique, which affected the approach to the muscular use of the right arm meant that many works had to be reassessed and any loose strumming articulation was converted into a controlled movement. Such adaptations also spawned other uses of right hand technique. For example, the use of performing a strumming effect on one string. This often necessitated the widening of the gap between the featured string and other strings thus ensuring a clean and separate execution.

Other enhancements of right hand technique included the application of a measured tremolando in tremolando passages. This approach signified a particularly professionalised departure from the unmeasured tremolando employed in most musics prior to the integration of classical and newly composed material. According to Ukrainian balalaikist Peter Trofimenko who emigrated to the USA in 1993, attention was even more recently paid to the issue of artificial vibrato versus true vibrato.[28]

The two types of vibrato may be described as follows. First, the simple artificial vibrato employed by some folk musicians - which results in pressure by the right hand on the

strings near the bridge and which produces a rough vibrato based on and immediately above the pitch articulated. Second, the true vibrato which is articulated by greater control of the hand pressure to produce a vibrato that is based below, above and on the articulated pitch. The latter technique was adopted by many players who introduced classical repertoire to their programmes. Again, according to Trofimenko, many musicians favoured such techniques because their backgrounds originated in a standardised academic music education rather than in traditional folk performance:

> It is very difficult now to find, frankly, musicians playing these instruments who would not have musical education - musical education that's pretty standardised.[29]

One aspect of enhanced instrumental technique which especially influenced orchestration is the introduction of guitar method fingering for the balalaika. This involved the transfer of right hand guitar technique to the balalaika. Rearranging a work in this way provided several challenges. Foremost was the skill in transcribing the work in such a way that it did not become a mechanical transcription of the contents of one work to a new work featuring balalaika. Apart from the attention to the period in which the work was composed and the composer's style of composition and orchestration, the newly transcribed work must also be supported by a technical knowledge of the total sound-producing capacity of the balalaika. The guitar method was first executed in Pavel Necheporenko's (1916-) *Variatsii na Tema Paganini (Variations on a Theme by Paganini)* (manuscript example 16). It was further exploited in the next two decades as repertoire extended into the classical realm and the use of a guitar method employing all fingers of the right hand was utilised.

Guitar technique not only improved the international appeal of arrangements - mainly by extending the repertoire to more technically difficult classical works which suited guitar method - but it gave greater timbral possibilities and further technical experimentation to the orchestrator and arranger. For the performer it facilitated the playing, especially in the upper registers, of fast melodic phrases, tremolo, ornaments, melismas, trills, triplets, and other rhythmic groupings. Each of these constituents of a musical piece could be played using simple downward or upward strokes or articulations of all the fingers of the right

N.B. 'b' sign denotes thumb

Manuscript Example 16

Extract from P. Necheporenko's *Variations on a Theme by Paganini*

hand. In general the execution of material within the orchestra was easier and gave the orchestrator more compositional possibilities. Trills for instance, normally performed by the motion of one finger could now be implemented at speed with several. Four types of guitar technique are discussed by solo prima balalaikist Bibs Ekkel in his comprehensive tutor for the balalaika. These include:

1. Guitar tremolo. This is a tremolo effect is produced by the downward pluck of the second or third string by the thumb followed by the upward pluck of the top string by fingers three, two and one (plate 40);

2. Guitar pizzicato. This follows the execution of technique described under 'Guitar Tremolo' except that the fourth finger is often also introduced in the plucking of the top string;

3. Forward guitar pizzicato. This effect begins as 'Guitar Tremolo' but the order of fingers is reversed to one, two and three after the first downward stroke of the thumb. The stroke is completed by a further downward stroke from the thumb (plate 41);

4. Straight-fingered guitar pizzicato. Here the fingers of the right hand and spread apart and stiffened. The fingers sweep from finger four to one towards the bridge and end with a downward stroke from the thumb (plate 42).[30]

Technical advances such as these undoubtedly stimulated the composition of new works for the balalaika orchestra as well as enhancing works which demanded a particular colouristic treatment. Pavel Ivanovich Necheprenko's arrangement of Manuel De Falla's *Spanish Dance* is an often cited example of a work to which balalaika guitar method is suited.[31] The Spanish ethos of the dance is matched by the use of the guitar technique which also alleviates some of the technical problems normally associated with such a piece.

Examples of fingering patterns demonstrating the ease of playing complex groupings or ornaments are given in V. Eazhigin's detailed paper on balalaika guitar method *'Gitarnil Priem v Igre na Balalaiki' (Guitar Method and Performance on the Balalaika).*[32]

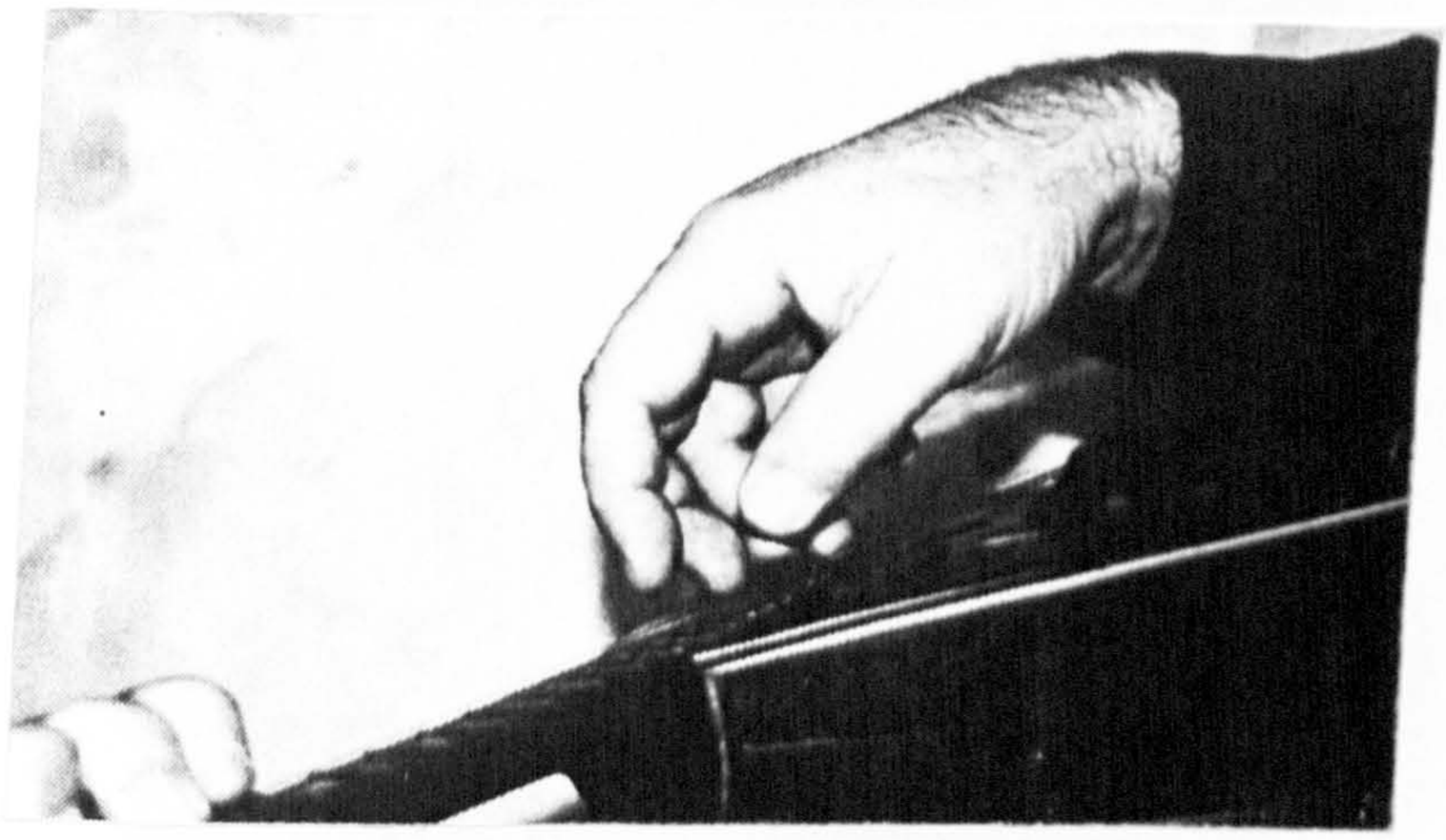


Plate 40

Example of guitar tremolo executed by balalaikist Bibs Ekkel,

from the archive of Bibs Ekkel.

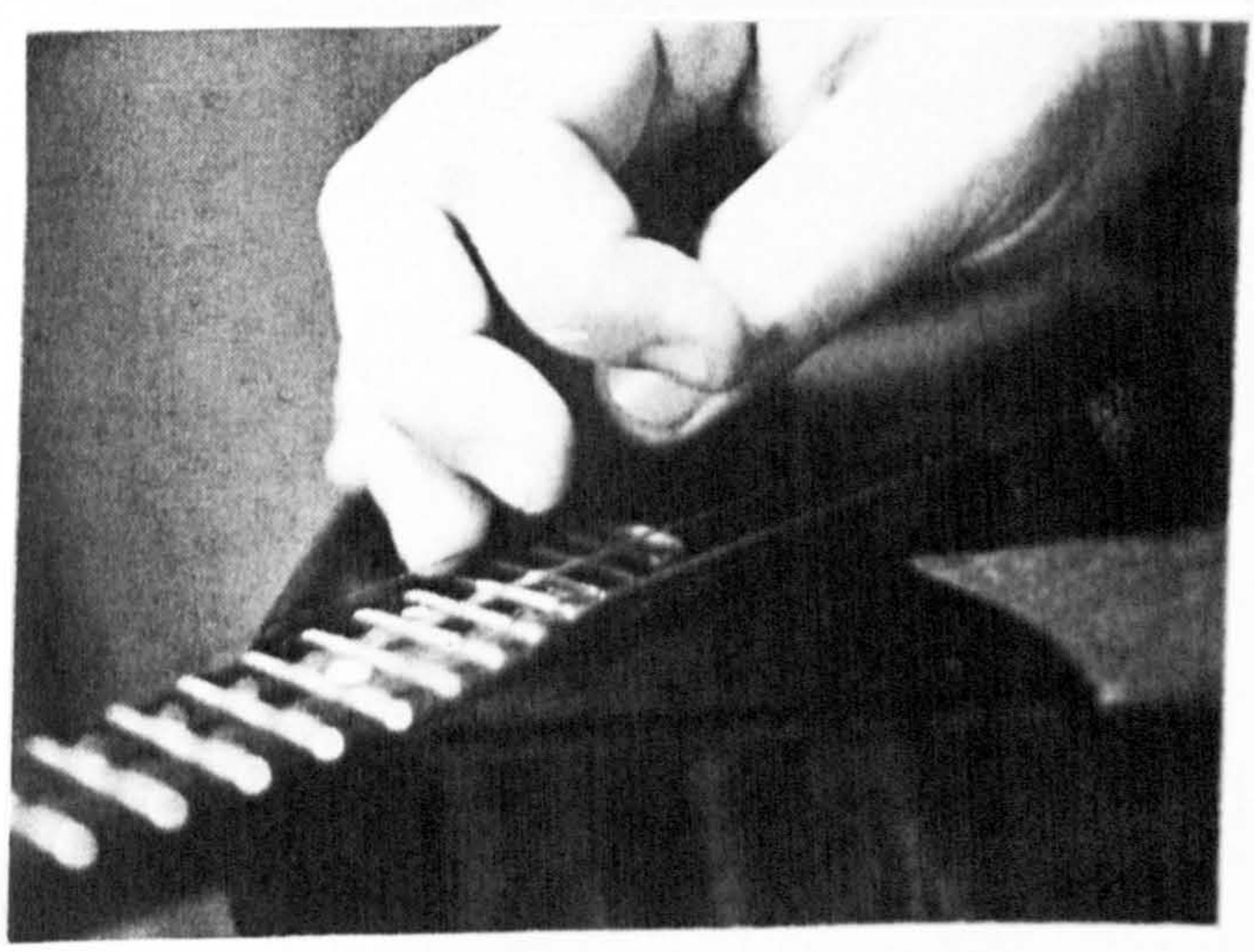


Plate 41

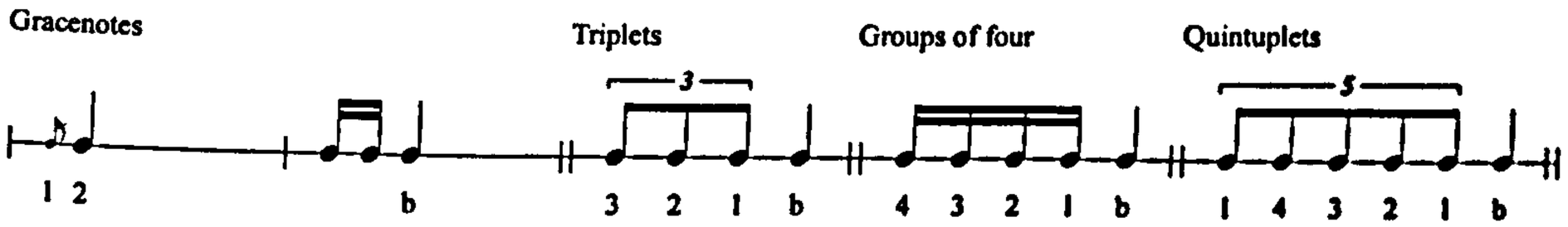
Example of forward guitar pizzicato executed by balalaikist Bibs Ekkel,

from the archive of Bibs Ekkel

Plate 42

Example of straight-fingered guitar pizzicato executed by balalaikist Bibs Ekkel, from the archive of Bibs Ekkel

These clearly illustrate the contribution to the improved articulation of a passage (manuscript example 17).



N.B. 'b' sign denotes thumb

Manuscript Example 17

Examples of the fingering patterns of guitar technique given in V. Eazhigin's 'Gitarnii Priem v Igre na Balalaiki.' Published as a chapter in *Muzikalnaya Pedagogikal Ispolnitelstvo na Russkich Narodnich Instrumentach,* Moscow 1984, p.75

One contemporary exponent of the expansion of balalaika technique is the balalaikist Volodymyr Illyashevich, a soloist with the Kiev Philharmonic. Illyashevich always pursued an interest in the performance of classical works as well as original compositions. Other examples, according to V. Eazhigin,[33] of Illyashevich's employment of expanded balalaika technique in the interpretation of classical works include the mastery of finger technique using successive executions of harmonics in the work *Muzikalnaya Tabakerka (The Musical Snuff Box)* by Anatolii Konstantinovich Lyadov (1855-1914) and the use of guitar method in E. Granados' *Spanish Dance No.5* or the Brazillero from Milhaud's *Scaramouche* suite. There was also experimentation with left hand technique. This involved the plucking of balalaika strings near the neck of the instrument - a technique known as 'pulling off' or 'hammer on'. 'Pulling off' required the pluck of the string by a finger of the left hand only. As the finger plucked the string it sounded the note held below by the next finger. The technique was implemented for descending passages. 'Hammering on' required a left hand finger to strike down onto the string as hard as possible and, in contrast, was used on ascending passages. The resulting modified timbres facilitated a timbral and dynamic balance between the balalaika and the harpsichord in transcriptions of harpsichord sonatas to balalaika and harpsichord.

THE INTERPRETATION OF CLASSICAL AND SPECIALLY COMPOSED WORKS EMPLOYING EXPANDED INSTRUMENTAL TECHNIQUES

Of course, many of the new techniques which began their life in the repertoire of the soloist found their way into ensemble performance and writing. The previous mechanical and traditional transference of classical scores - violin to prima balalaika part, double bass to contra-bass balalaika and so on - now became an obsolete method for transcription. At last the balalaika ensemble was timbrally of age and this meant the ensemble arrangements could now be superseded with a more representative and imitative interpretation of a classical score. Such progress meant that balalaika repertoire was constantly updated with not only more technically accomplished interpretations of the classics but with original works incorporating the new sound colours. Amongst these works were Kurt Shwen's *Koncertstuck*, Heinz Arens' *Concertino*, P. Kulikov's *Concert Variations* and M. Budashkin's *Troyka*.[34]

The danger of such a rapid development of technique, however, lies in the realms of expecting an ensemble to perform greater feats of technical accomplishment. In terms of the balalaika or domra soloist, for example, it included the problems of co-ordination since many classical works demanded the execution of long complicated passages in contrast to the short simple phrases of folk music. It also demanded a good flexible execution of tremolo and alongside this a bright clear articulated sound. This meant that the solo featured instrument needed to perfect techniques of increasing its dynamic range so that it might be fully heard against the orchestral support. Master domrist Tamara Volskaya describes her personal method of employing such techniques:

When I play with orchestra it is necessary to make big sound. With symphony I need more sound than with folk instruments and my method is to use all my body and all my arm to play forte. Because old method was only to use wrist technique.[35]

Such demands inevitably create an expectation that the performance of a work must somehow approach the interpretation rendered by a conventional symphony orchestra. To some degree these interpretive attempts can be successful. New techniques always enable the possibilities of better imitation and furthermore, over time, the ear may become accustomed to such aural copying. Imitation, at times, may be an acceptable substitute or a

surprising variation of the original. Such an approach, however, to a synthesis of timbres which attempted to clone colouristic devices of the symphony orchestra was in stark contrast to the earlier performances of classical works during and post the Andreyev era. These early works were so strikingly different in timbre and execution to the technically embellished symphonic versions that the unembellished palette of the balalaika orchestra gave the listener a break from the regular colours of the orchestra. This was the type of sound that had so impressed Tchaikovsky and Tolstoy.

Nevertheless, following the emergence of new instrumental techniques, the dilemma of what defined the best interpretive score of a classical work became both a creative and technical issue during the sixties and seventies. This created particular problems for Russian folk orchestras whose repertoire now centred around large-scale orchestral works employing a vast array of special imitative techniques. The small work, which might have included the simple treatment of a folk song, had subsided. The glamour of the large classical or specially composed work was pre-eminent. Also relegated was the simple treatment of the material in the Andreyev style, unenhanced by any new performance techniques. Ensembles commonly associated with folk song and constructed from groupings ranging from duet to octet found themselves ousted by the Brobdingnagian Russian native folk instruments orchestra in the popularity vogue for size and diversity. Balalaikist and author Anastasia Karnow has championed the cause of both the simple treatment of material and the 'authentic' ensemble:

> There was the group which we thought was very nice, The Balalaika and Domra Society with Kutin. But he used a lot of wind instruments. So, we went to a lot of his concerts - he was more symphonic - he used to do opera - things which we were not interested in. We felt this was a peasant folk instrument which should stay simple and you know, doing the simple things of the old folksongs.[36]

A minority of performers did, however, opt to return to ensemble groupings that were small, manageable and offered a timbral palette that could be transparent. These groups not only performed as a single entity but also as separate timbral or entities within an orchestral performance ensuring a break between the many lengthy tutti sections of a work. The handfuls of performers who formed small ensembles in the USA out of necessity of numbers or ideals of 'small is beautiful' may have contributed to this revival of the earlier Andreyev style ensemble.

Such a return to humbler beginnings was perhaps symptomatic of a preference for ensembles using performance method rooted in folk origins in contrast to a grander orchestral style utilising expanded technique. Such an approach is amplified in the views of two balalaikists - one of the past and one of the present. Andreyev himself said:

> First of all with regard to a suitable repertoire. The great point is to play only such music as suits the instrument. Wagner, for example, is all very well, but the music requires suitable instruments to express it. Every item in my orchestra has been chosen not because of the greatness of the composer's name, but just because some particular composition of his happened to be specifically appropriate for the balalaika.[37]

The emphasis on 'suitability' as the benchmark for inclusion in the orchestra's repertoire is interesting when compared to contra-bass balalaikist Dmitry Gribanovsky's view. A view which acknowledges the classical repertoire but casts doubts on its real suitability for the instruments of the balalaika orchestra:

> Now I have some records I received recently from my nephew, who goes to Russia quite often - they're playing a lot of classical stuff in balalaika orchestras, and that is very difficult because balalaika is very sort of a primitive instrument. The guy could do a great deal on the violin much easier than he could do on the balalaika.[38]

These comments reinforce the traditionalist or purist view of the balalaika orchestra. They shun a progressive embrace of new techniques which aid the popularisation of works for balalaika audiences.

Furthermore Steve Wolownik (1946-), a contra-bass balalaikist who has directed numerous balalaika orchestras across the USA also rejected the performance of classical works on the balalaika:

> I didn't join the balalaika group to play classical music because I'm already a clarinet player and a bassoon player. If I want to play Mozart, I want to play it on my clarinet or bassoon not on my contra-bass balalaika. I play the balalaika because I like that music. These people play the balalaika because they like the balalaika rather than the music it plays.[39]

The discussion of suitable repertoire and the transference of other musical genres to the

American-Russian balalaika environment was still as unsettled as ever by the eighties and nineties. Tamara Volskaya, who came to the USA in 1966, is an advocate of the benefits of transferring classical works to the balalaika or domra. Volskaya believes that classical music may find its roots in folk music and that the employment of classical composition techniques in extant or new compositions is a fundamental building block for the performance of strong musical material and the professional programming of repertoire for balalaika and domra concerts. Furthermore, she believes a musician may only fully express themselves when they search for and execute quality material:

> This question is simple and different at the same time. I did it because I think all music is originally from folk ... I need to play classical repertoire because I'm a musician. I would like to express myself. I think I can do it in my way of thinking.[40]

Whether purist or progressive, however, a compromise of both schools has been clearly audible in the concert hall repertoire of the last thirty years and the following evidence for this may be found in the way in which orchestras have programmed their material.

THE BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA PROGRAMME AS AN INDICATOR OF GENRE PREFERENCE

In terms of the programming of concert material for a balalaika orchestra concert, the selections chosen by musical directors do not differ greatly from those that were offered to the radio. Discs too offered similar selections but disc length, however, limited the realisation of a full and varied programme. Although the pot-pourri formula, as previously discussed, had much in common with programming for radio in particular, it departed completely from the restrictive range of programming that had been familiar in the environment of the small cabaret or restaurant. The limited programming within these venues had largely occurred as a result of the financial restraints of restaurant managers who only employed small ensembles that would pursue the well tested formula of a programme dedicated to Russian songs. These constraints aside, the small restaurant ensemble did often honour the occasional request for arrangements of a popular song or art work. This scenario is supported by Dmitry Gribanowsky, a contra-bass balalaikist who came to Chicago from Russia in 1923. Gribanowsky indicates that the repertoire for programmes in small venues was at first built around Russian indigenous musics and it was

later through the general pattern of requests in the cabaret or restaurant that the call for arrangements of existing art works grew:

> Well, we did Chopin waltzes, for instance, and always at request. Originally we started with Russian folk music, gypsy folk music, Russian gypsy romances. You know that stuff, very sentimental. And one of our boys sang, and had a pretty nice baritone. We received the requests from the audience, from patrons. They would say, what about Tchaikovsky - very popular was the Andante from his quartet. Well, we didn't have that. After it was requested two or three times, we would go out and buy it and have an arrangement for our orchestra.[41]

Norman Levine who founded the Classical Mandolin Society of the USA in 1986 knew the cabaret and concert venues well. He felt that there was musically little experimentation with repertoire and that primarily ensembles stuck rigidly to their traditional Russian fare:

> You had the, you know, little ensembles, three, four musicians. They would open the show and then you'd have some of the featured players, mostly a tenor or a soprano or sometimes both, a dance group always - some dance group.[42]

Whilst there were some indications in the small venue that programmes might expand at some point in the future it was the next generation of balalaika orchestra music directors that would fully realise the vision of a large ensemble playing a diverse programme in a concert environment.

> I remember as a young man, a meeting I witnessed which involved Alexander Kinloff, Peter Biljo and Nicholas Kovac. Between the swapping of the usual anecdotes and personal comments, a serious note crept into conversation. Why was it that their extensive repertoire could not be used? The producers and directors insisted that they limit their performance to such played-out numbers as: 'Two Guitars', 'Otchi Chorniya', 'Bublitchki' and 'Bright Shines the Moon'. They also bemoaned the fact that the economic situation forced them to appear in only small groups of four to five instrumentalists, playing necessarily limited arrangements of a restricted repertoire. They directed their conversation to me and in essence said, 'Young man, if you ever have something to do with our type of music in the future, promise us that you will take it out of the small cabaret and onto the concert stage where it really belongs. Promise that you will use a big group with specially orchestrated arrangements that can best show what these instruments can do. Acquaint the American public with the fact that they are truly lacking a rich, significant portion of folk music from their culture.[43]

Indeed, Kasura as well as Alexander Kutin contributed immensely to the realisation of full concert balalaika orchestras with diverse programmes. However, the question of exactly how the programming was divided in terms of the selection of genres of Russian music is intriguing. Where Kasura moved away from the large scale presentation of art works, Alexander Kutin's Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra of the 1940s had, for example, programmes consisting of a split between arrangements of Verdi and Tchaikovsky and arrangements of indigenous folk songs:

> The Jeanne D'Arc Overture of Verdi opened the program, followed by the andante cantabile from Tchaikovsky's String Quartet, Opus 11. Folk songs were sung by Miss Bosher, and the Russian Art Singers did *The Boatmen of the Volga*, accompanied by the balalaika orchestra.[44]

> The Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra, conducted by Alexander Kutin, gave a concert last night in Carnegie Hall. When they played music like Alexsandrov's *Kaleenka*, or Russian folk songs, they were on secure ground. Primarily symphonic efforts such as Khachaturian's *Masquerade* Suite were less fortunate, musically.[45]

> The program opened with the Overture to Rossini's *The Barber of Seville* and closed with Gliere's *Russian Sailor's Dance.* Other selections included *The Dance of the Hours* and Liszt's second *Hungarian Rhapsody.*[46]

> The orchestra's selections included works by Rossini, Schubert, Dvorak, Ponchielli, Knipper and Gliere.[47]

> The majority of selections were of Russian music. Three works were performed from manuscript: Arkadie Kouguell's *Russian Rhapsody*, Andrew Sobolsky's *Polianka* and a suite from Alexander Gretchaninoff's opera, *Dobrinya Nikitich.*[48]

Questions of what kind of varied programme might suit an American audience were also considered by touring Russian orchestras. A tour of the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra directed by Victor Dubrovsky led Dubrovsky to consider what kind of exit number the orchestra would play in the South of the USA in contrast to the North:

> Mr. Dubrovsky and his assistant conductor, Vitali Gnutov, weighed other suggestions, including *Hello Dolly!*, *Strike Up the Band* and *The Colonel Bogey March* without settling on the ideal

nonpolitical Northern-closer. Through an interpreter they explained that no possibility should be excluded, because the balalaika orchestra is a versatile instrument, comparable to a symphony orchestra in range and potential.[49]

Apart from the opening and closing arrangement of an American song, the rest of the programme was led mainly by European classics.

It is at this point that I wish to examine programmes which possess a full representation of the pot-pourri approach to the selection of repertoire for a concert programme. Such a programme would include art works, folk songs, dances, art songs, motion picture soundtracks, American songs and specially composed works.

The programming of such repertoire for the balalaika orchestral concert might be described as a macrocosm of the way in which an individual piece is often treated in arrangement. That is with a gradual build up throughout of tempo, variations, timbral distribution, drama and the full rousing finale. As well as suggestions for the accurate timing of each piece within a programme, Kasura suggests that works should be classified into the following categories in terms of tempo: slow, majestic, waltz, medium, lively, fast. Although these are not definitive tempo measurements, they give some indication of a general overview of the arc of tempo and style deviation normally placed within the concert programme.

The plans for most programmes, both native Russian and American tend to follow a scheme of variation or diversity - particularly in the first half of a programme. This scheme helps to lead the listener's ear through the landscape of the orchestra and through various excursions into different Russian genres. According to Kasura, the first piece and last piece of the first half should be a pot-pourri which moves in its argument from 'majestic' to 'lively'.[50] Such works not only introduce the listeners' ears to genre variety but introduce the technical scope and personality of the orchestra.

Kasura cites his second suggestion for the concert programme as a 'good Russian waltz' which follows the lively tempo of the Viennese waltz. Such a waltz should be followed by the first soloist's work. This enables the orchestra to take a rest but also enhances the diversity of programming for the first half. Kasura suggests a folk song to start the soloist's section followed by a waltz or tango. After this the orchestra should play a folk song

arrangement or some suitable arrangement of a classic or of Russian folk variations. A hiatus occurs after this with the emergence again of a small ensemble or a soloist. A lively folk dance may follow this and lead into the final pot-pourri piece to end the first half. The following diagram illustrates the scheme for the architecture of the first half of a programme (figure 20).

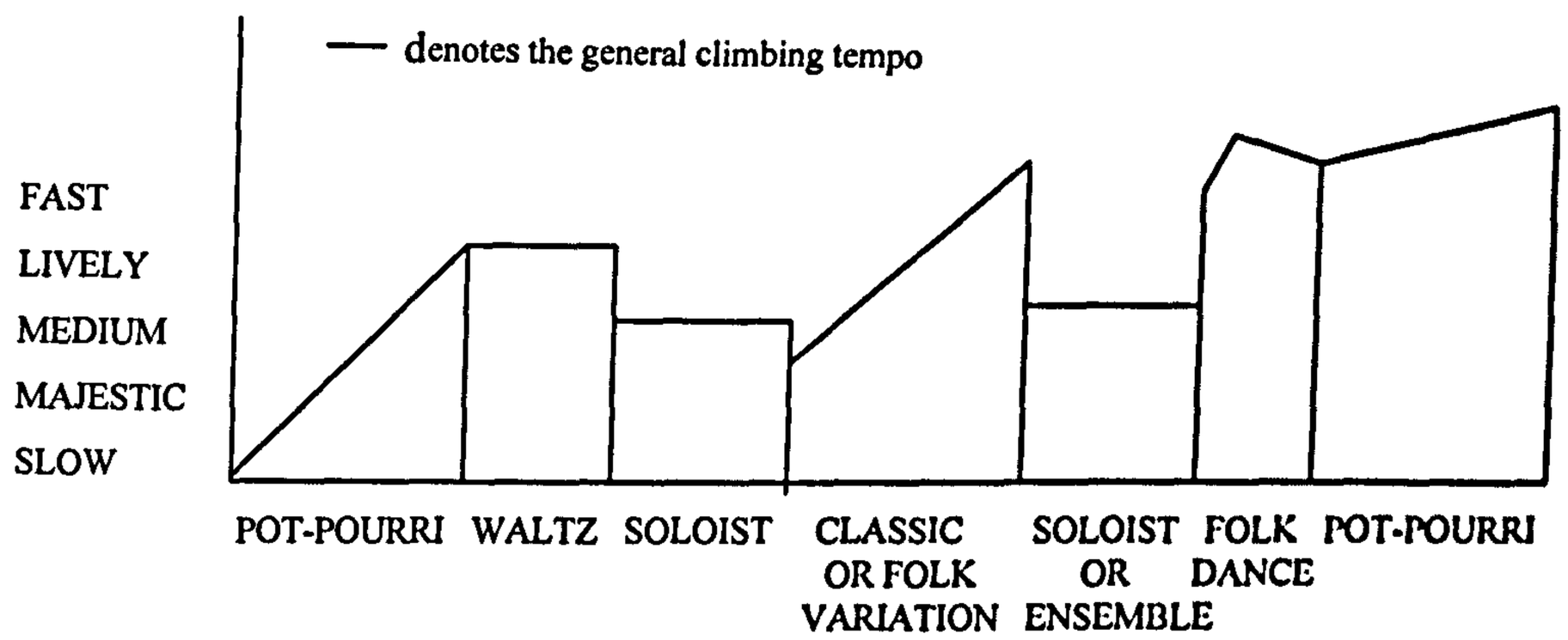
The second half is primarily concerned with a progressive building up of material which heightens the anticipation of climax. The emphasis is on propulsion towards the final cadence of the rousing finale. Kasura suggested a method of applying such techniques in his *Organizing a Concert or Performance.*[51]

> The second half, following intermission, should build up in its tempo, culminating in a real rousing foot-tapper.[52]

The selection for the opening of the second half might consist of any of the following: a Russian march, a fantasy or a pot-pourri. Kasura suggests that a medium tempo work should follow using a guest soloist or virtuoso within the orchestra. A vocal solo is to follow such a number. This performance may include some popular or gypsy pieces or a waltz or tango medley. Kasura points out that such a piece should include audience participation - applause or foot tapping. A piece of the folk-dance type would follow the singers and Kasura aims here for a medium to lively tempo with live dancers.

Finally the second half should end with a lively pot-pourri of famous Russian arrangements of folk songs or classic balalaika favourites such as Andreyev's *Bright Shines the Moon.* The architecture for the second half of a programme may therefore be represented by the following diagram (figure 21).

To determine whether the Kasura pattern for concert programming acts as a model for all concert programmes I have selected a sample of programmes (documents 5, 6, 7 and 8) representing the work of four orchestras. Each programme is represented by a diagram (figures 22 to 25) which indicate the contour of tempo and instrumentation within a concert programme.



THUS:

Figure 20

Diagram of the architecture of programming for the first half of a concert programme

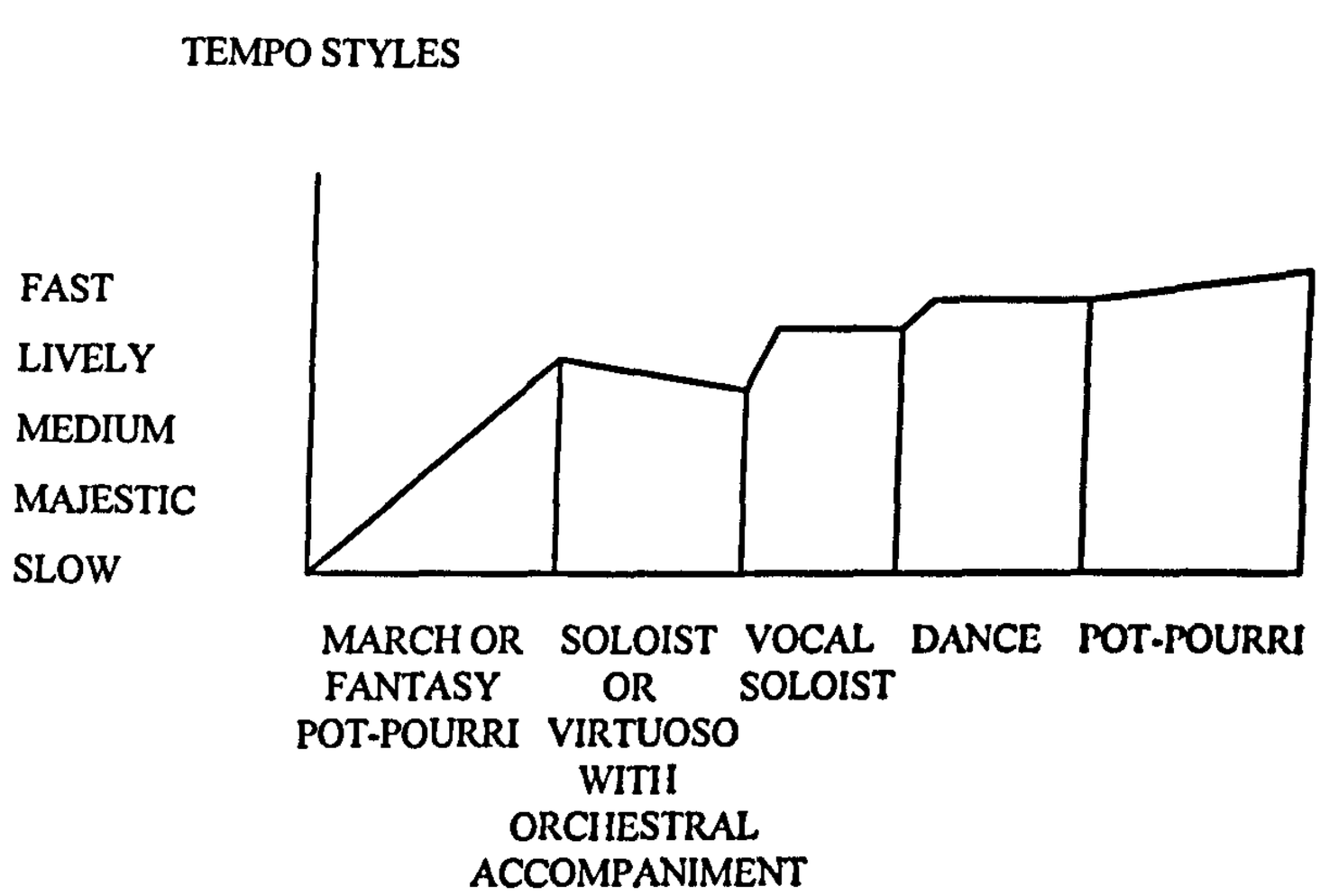


Figure 21

Diagram of the architecture of programming for the second half of a concert programme

Saturday Evening, May 11, 1974, at 8:00

The Balalaika and Domra Society

WALTER KASURA, *Director*

YAKOVLEV	*Mischievous Tunes
TCHAIKOVSKY	In Church (Op. 39, No. 24, from "The Album for the Young")
ANDREYEV	*Souvenir de Gatchino
RUSSIAN TRADITIONAL	*Alone on the Road
	*Along the Peterskoy KONSTANTIN MOSKALENKO, Basso
GYPSY FOLK	*Two Guitars ("Makaroff's Tears")
VAHUTINSKY	*Quadrille
UKRAINIAN TRADITIONAL	The Sword Dance THE UKRAINIAN FOLK DANCERS OF ASTORIA
TRADITIONAL	Haida Troika, Farewell Village, The Little Star
	INTERMISSION—15 Minutes
TRADITIONAL	*Concourse March
SOLOVIEV-SEDOI/ DUNAYEVSKY	*Moscow Nights—Happy Youth
TRADITIONAL-FOLK (ARR. L.M. DAVIS)	Fantasy on a Slovakian Theme LEONARD M. DAVIS, Balalaika Soloist
BOTARI-SEMENOV	*Kiss Me
DOMAR	*Think About Me CLAUDIA CURTIS, Soprano
MOLDAVIAN FOLK	*Moldavian Girl
UKRAINIAN INTERPRETIVE	The Scissor Dance THE UKRAINIAN FOLK DANCERS
RUSSIAN FOLK (ARR. N. KOVAC)	Polianka
DITEL	Korobeiniki

*Arrangements by Walter Kasura
All numbers subject to last minute change

Document 5

Programme for *The Balalaika and Domra Society* concert at Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, New York, 11 May 1974,

Kasura collection, University of Illinois

THE BALALAIKA SYMPHONIC ORCHESTRA

ALEXANDER KUTIN, Conductor

LOU BOLE, Concertmaster

Presents

An Evening of Russian Music, Song and Dance

WITH ORCHESTRA, SOLOISTS AND DANCE GROUP

Participating Artists

Roberta Vatske
Soprano

Roberto Villani
Tenor

Dnipro Dance
Group

Sosio Manzo
Tenor

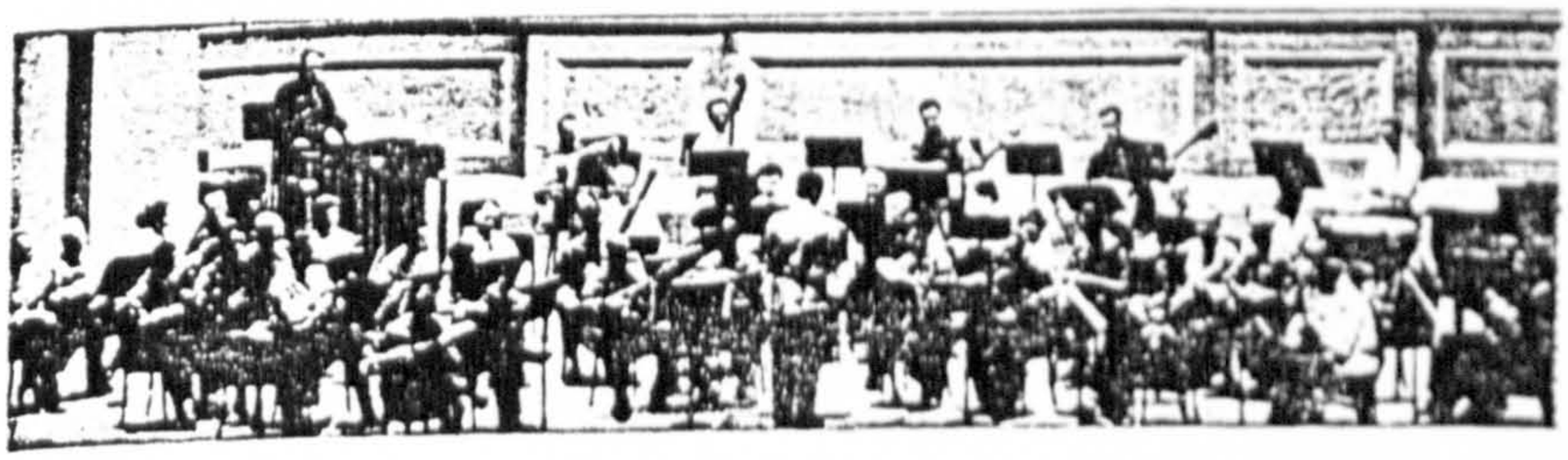
Barbara Bethune
Mezzo Soprano

Martha Umstead
Pianist

Catherine Welch
Soprano

Frank Rossi
Basso

Joseph Papandrea
Accordian



ALICE TULLY HALL
65th St. & Broadway

SATURDAY EVENING APRIL 5th, 1986
7:30 P.M.

Document 6

Programme for Kutin's *Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra*, Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, New York, 5 April 1986

Program

THE BALALAIKA SYMPHONIC ORCHESTRA

ALEXANDER KUTIN, Conductor

LOU BOLE, Concertmaster

Raymonda Overture ..... Amb. Thomas
A La Balalaika ..... Nikolai Kotchetov
Quartet (from opera "Ivan Sussanin-A Life for the Tsar") ..... M. Glinka
Catherine Welch, Soprano, Barbara Bethune, Mezzo-Soprano
Sosio Manzo, Tenor, Frank Rossi, Basso
Chloe & Daphnis Duet (Queen of Spades) ..... Tchaikovsky
Catherine Welch, Soprano & Barbara Bethune, Mezzo
Elege ..... M. Glinka
Roberta Vatske, Soprano & Roberto Villani, Tenor
Duet of Oksana & Andrey (from Zaporochez Za Dunaum) ..... Hulak Artemovsky
Barbara Bethune & Sosio Manzo
Introduction and Rondo Capriccio ..... C. Saint-Saens
Joseph Papandrea, Accordian
Lesginka from Gayne Ballet Suite ..... Khachaturian
DNIPRO DANCERS ..... Director, R.M. Arons

INTERMISSION 10 Minutes

Concerto in A Minor, Allegro Moderato ..... E. Grieg
Martha Umstead, Pianist

GROUP OF RUSSIAN FOLK SONGS
The Snow Ball Tree is Blooming ..... I. Dunaevsky
Barbara Bethune, Mezzo
The Cherry Tree ..... Russian Folk Song
Catherine Welch, Soprano
The Wind Howls in the Open Field ..... M. Glinka
Roberta Vatske, Soprano
White Whirlwind ..... A. Varlamov
Roberto Villani
Song of the Volga Boatman ..... Traditional
Frank Rossi, Basso
Kaleenka ..... Folk Song
Sosio Manzo, Tenor
Bright Shines the Moon ..... Andreyev
Ruth Stillman Heller, Pianist

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Tickets available through Center Charge: (212) 874-6770
By mail or phone: Rita Kutin, 60 West 8th St., N.Y.C. 10011, 777-6198
Our album of previously recorded concerts may be obtained from R. Kutin

Document 6 contd

Programme for Kutin's *Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra*, Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, New York, 5 April 1986

CARNEGIE HALL

Friday Evening, January 21, 1972 at 8:00
Saturday Afternoon, January 22, 1972 at 2:30
Saturday Evening, January 22, 1972 at 8:00
Sunday Afternoon, January 23, 1972 at 2:30

Columbia Artists Management Inc.
Presents the

OSIPOV BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA OF MOSCOW

with STARS of the BOLSHOI OPERA and BOLSHOI BALLET

VLADIMIR FEDOSEYEV, Chief Conductor
Honored Artist of the RSFSR
VITALY GNUTOV, Conductor

Guest Artists

TAMARA SOROKINA, Soprano, Honored Artist of the RSFSR, Bolshoi Opera
YURI GULAYEV, Bass, Kiev Opera
YULIA and STANISLAV VLASOV, Bolshoi Ballet
with
LUDMILLA ZYKINA, Singer
ANATOLY TIKHONOV, Balalaika VLADIMIR YAKOVLEV, Domra
VERA GORODOVSKAYA and NINA CHEKANOVA, Gusli

STANISLAV KORSHUNOV, Tour Director
VICTOR VEKSHIN, Orchestra Manager

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Columbia Artists Management Inc. acknowledges with thanks the cooperation of the American Federation of Musicians in making possible the appearance in the United States of the Osipov Balalaika Orchestra of Moscow.

Document 7

Programme for the *Osipov Balalaika Orchestra of Moscow* concert at Carnegie Hall, New York, 21 January 1972

PROGRAM

The Great Gate of Kiev from *Pictures at an Exhibition*	MOUSSORGSKY
The Accordionist Plays (A Musical Picture)	LVOV-KOMPANEYETZ
Russian Dance	LVOV-KOMPANEYETZ
ORCHESTRA	
Vladimir Fedoseyev conducting	
"Don't Reproach Me"	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG
"Over the Fields	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG
Tamara Sorokina	
"Strumming Gaily" for Domra and Orchestra	YAKOVLEV
Vladimir Yakovlev	
Vitaly Gnutov conducting	
"Evening Bells"	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG arr. Mossolov
ORCHESTRA	
"Down the River Volga"	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG
"The Singing Shaft-Bell"	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG
Ludmilla Zykina	
Russian Choreographic Miniature	TCHAIKOVSKY
Music: *Elegy*	
Yulia and Stanislav Vlasov	
Dance of the Buffoons	TCHAIKOVSKY
ORCHESTRA	
- INTERMISSION -	
Introduction to the Opera, *The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh and The Maiden Fevronia*	RIMSKY-KORSAKOV
ORCHESTRA	
"Kalinka"	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG arr. Gorodovskaya
Anatoly Tikhonov	
"Shall I Go, Shall I Go Out?"	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG arr. Yakushenko
ORCHESTRA	
An Old Russian Waltz	
Gusli Duet, Vera Gorodovskaya, Nina Chekanova	
"Stenka Razin"	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG
"Along Petersky Street"	RUSSIAN FOLK SONG
Yuri Gulayev	
Choreographic Duet	RACHMANINOFF
Music: *Floods of Spring*	
Yulia and Stanislav Vlasov	
Spanish Dance, from the Ballet *Raymonda*	GLAZOUNOV
ORCHESTRA	
Volga Rhapsody	KULIKOV
ORCHESTRA	

Document 7 contd

Programme for the *Osipov Balalaika Orchestra of Moscow* concert at Carnegie Hall,

New York, 21 January 1972

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DMITRI KHOKHLOV, *Artistic Director and Conductor*
GLEB NIKOLSKY, *Bass*

Saturday, January 26, 1991
8:00 P.M.

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Document 8

Programme for the *Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra* concert at Atlanta, Georgia, 26 January 1991

PROGRAM

V.V. ANDREYEV (1861-1918)	Triumphal Polonaise *
ANDREYEV	American March
Russian Folk Song Arr. by ANDREYEV	El Ukhnem (Song of the Volga Boatmen) *
Russian Folk Song Arr. by V. DITEL	Peddlers
Russian Folk Song Arr. by A.B. SHALOV	I am Blamed By The People Balalaika solo by Mikhail Senchurov
Russian Folk Song Arr. by SHALOV	Oh, You Vestibule Balalaika duet by Alexandre Shipitsin and Renat Gafarov
A.K. LIADOV (1855-1914)	Female Hobgoblin Folk legend for the Orchestra
S.V. RACHMANINOV (1873-1943)	A Russian Song
Russian Folk Song Arr. by V.I. KUZNETSOV	The Baron's Wife Duet by Marina Fonina on Ringing Gusli and Vladimir Fonin on Bayan
B.A. GAVRILIN (b. 1939)	Russian Carnival Group of Balalaikas with the Orchestra
V.D. BIBERGAN (b. 1937)	Russian Amusements I. Sorting Out II. Round Dancing III. Harts Song
	INTERMISSION
P.I. TCHAIKOVSKY (1840-1893)	In Church*
	Dance of the Buffoons from the fairytale "Snow Maiden" by A.N. Ostrovsky
Russian Folk Songs	From the Island to the Deep Stream
	Oh, Nastasya
	Along Piterskaya Gleb Nikolsky, Bass
A.I. KHACHATURIAN (1903-1978)	Serenade Music from the Lope de Vega comedy "Widow from Valencia"
D.D. SHOSTAKOVICH (1906-1975)	The Gallop From Ballet Suite No. 1
	The Polka From the Ballet "The Golden Age"
I.E. ROGALEV (b. 1948)	The Cuckoo Clock Alexandre Chernobayev on Xylophone
G. BIZET (1838-1875)	Farandole From "L'Arlesienne" by A. Daudet
J. STRAUSS (1825-1899)	The "Tritsch-Tratsch" Polka

* Performed in the Orchestra's historic Carnegie Hall concert of October 23, 1911.

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Document 8 contd

Programme for the *Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra* concert at Atlanta, Georgia, 26 January 1991

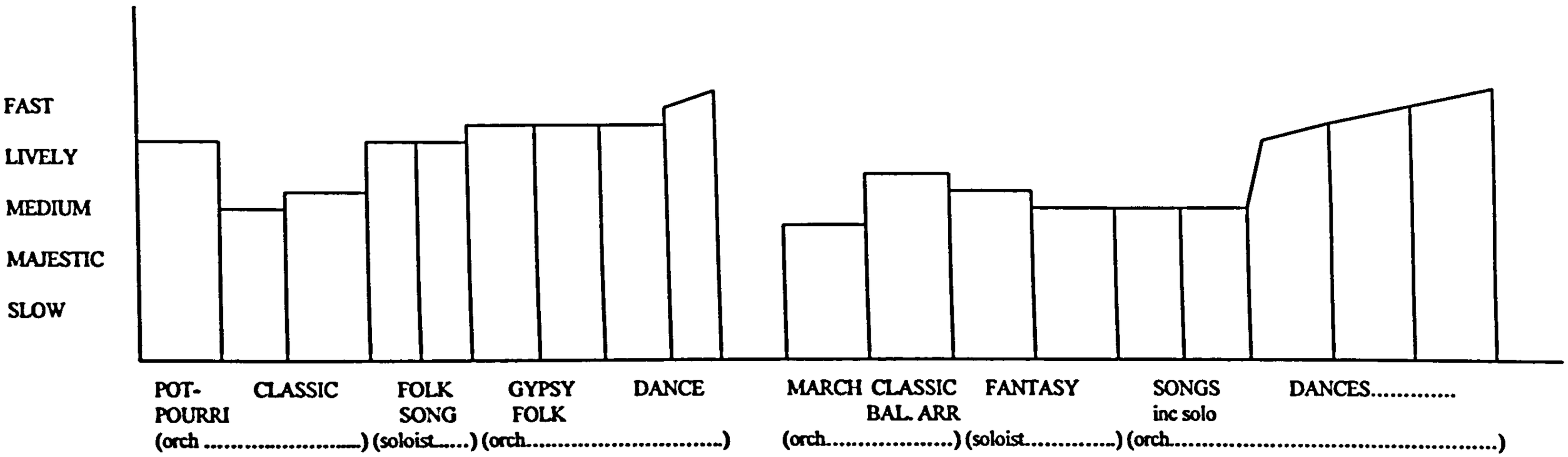

Figure 22

Diagram indicating the architecture or contour of a concert programme featuring *The Balalaika and Domra Society* concert at Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, New York. 11 May 1974

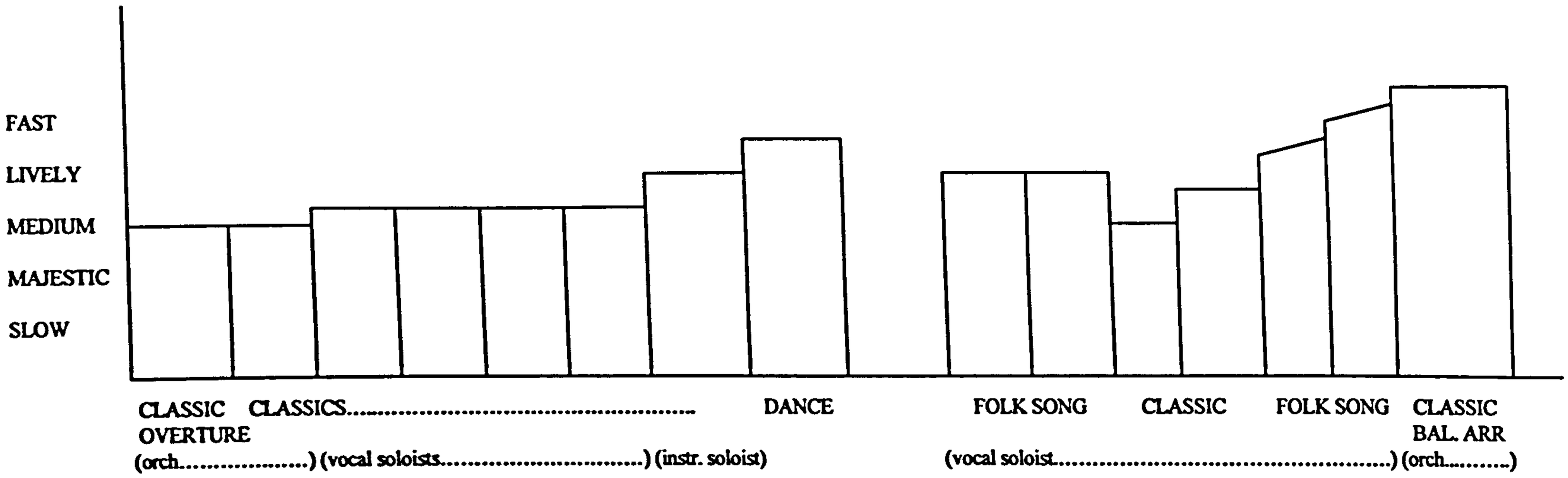

Figure 23

Diagram indicating the architecture or contour of a concert programme featuring Kutin's *Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra*, Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, New York, 5 April 1986

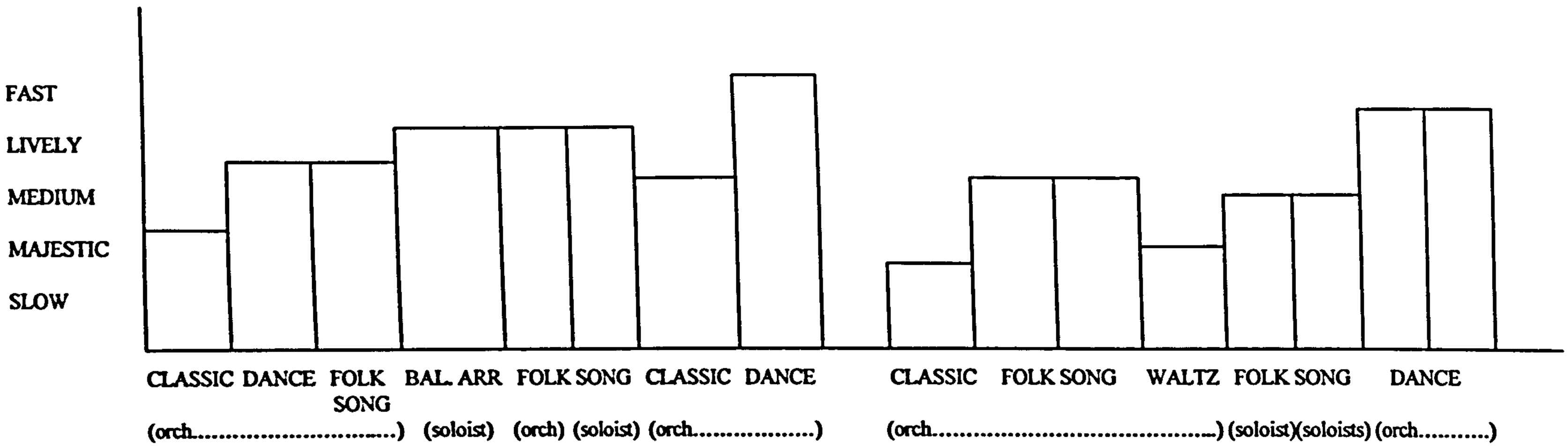

Figure 24

Diagram indicating the architecture or contour of a concert programme featuring the *Osipov Balalaika Orchestra of Moscow*, Carnegie Hall, New York, 21 January 1972

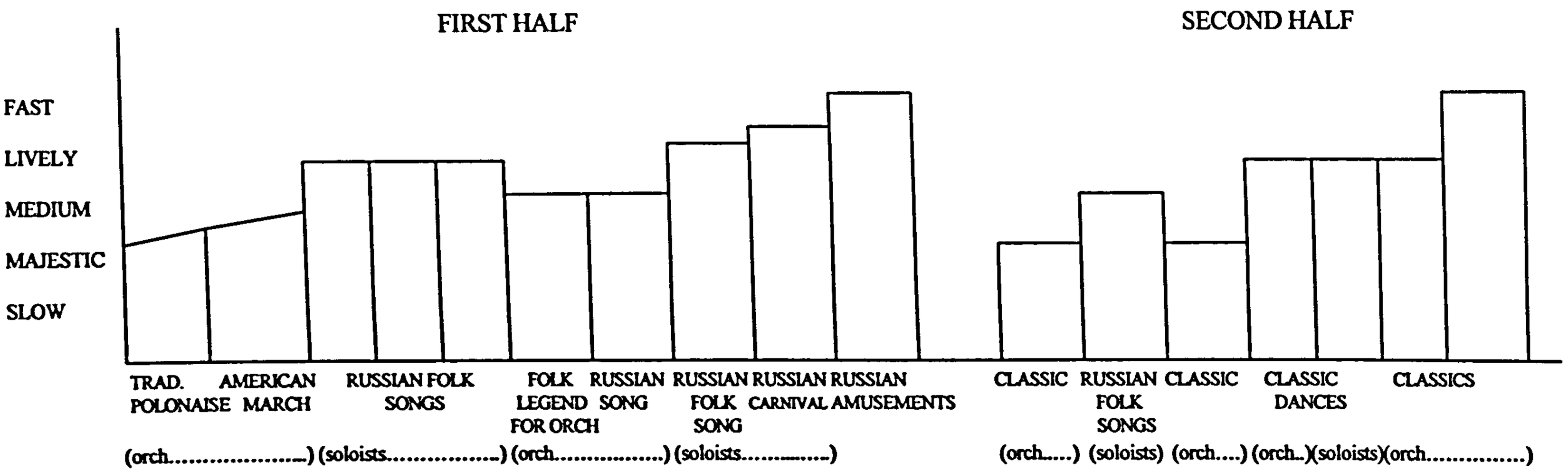

Figure 25

Diagram indicating the architecture or contour of a concert programme featuring the *Andreyev Balalaika Orchestra*, Atlanta, Georgia, 26 January 1991

The Balalaika and Domra Society concerts display a pattern familiar with Kasura's tenet of the gradual build up throughout the performance - leaving gaps for soloists. Kutin's concert programme exhibits as expected, an emphasis on the classical repertoire and the song. This gives more of a plateau in the centre of both halves of the concert. The impression is one of a more 'serious' and 'weighty' programme.

The Russian orchestras' models also favour the build up of tempi throughout. Within the Osipov longer stretches of orchestral playing are apparent and broken only by shorter interludes of vocal material. The Andreyev model exhibits a more balanced division between orchestral and solo material.

The global picture is of programming which aims to be as diverse as possible both for aural considerations as well as technical ones. The question of whether the concentration on building the concert halves by diversity and variation as well as steadily increasing tempo raises the question of whether this is a macro version of the techniques employed within Russian song, or indeed any variational piece, or simply a more fundamental human characteristic - the desire to create drama by the increase of pace and the subsequent gathering of momentum whilst adding increased complexity *en route*.

Whatever the global picture demonstrates, there are always possibilities for individuals or groups to break the mould within their concert programming. In the 1990s many ensembles and orchestras across the USA are pursuing the types of programming of repertoire described, but with the expansion of world musics both on disc and at live performances, balalaikists have recognised how a particular music may successfully transfer to their instrument. The possibilities for such hybrids have given rise to individualistic sounds which balalaika orchestras may have acquired as part of their evolution. Some early orchestras such as the Detroit Balalaika Orchestra had the germs of other musical influences which may or may not have accelerated aspects of acculturation. According to balalaikist Ray Kane some conscious effort was made by musical director Serge Larionoff to include music from other cultures which included Spain, Ireland and America. Such works as *Danny Boy* and *Southern Melodies* would be integrated into the programme. Musical director Boris Sabbatoffsky also included *My Old Irish Rose* and *Road to Mandalay* as part of his programme. Kane also recollects how musical director Billy Goldes incorporated jazz and ragtime:

Billy played jazz also. Russian emigrés loved jazz so they started to write it in. Billy Goldes arranged *The Entertainer.*

Kane continues:

Recently when all these Russian emigrés came to this country to the BDAA, they loved jazz, so they started writing that into the er ... like at the parties. At night they'd go to the piano keyboard or trumpet and play jazz - they always wanted to go to jazz.[53]

French prima balalaikist and soloist Nicholas Kedroff (1963-) also reiterates this fascination with jazz even though he is generally in favour of a repertoire rooted in Russian music or art works:

Choice of repertoire is good. Of course they could play more sophisticated music from Soviet composers or classical. I like to play jazz on the balalaika. I mean I play very little jazz, it's not my speciality but I like to hear or to play jazz.[54]

Other influences from American musical culture also ironically fall into the folk and classical programming of domrist Tamara Volskaya:

I am interested with mandolin and with bluegrass. I send my friends a lot of material about bluegrass. I think it is very interesting. It's new and at the same time it's very healthy music, the same like Russian folk. I feel it's very close - bluegrass and Russian folk music. For me, it's the same feeling inside of me. I would like to study this style and play. And second I'm going to study the repertoire mandolin and play with orchestras mandolin concertos and maybe I will this idea to put for a domra. I think domra technique will be helpful for mandolinists too.[55]

Undoubtedly American audiences did not require additional measures of their homegrown material, whether jazz, ragtime or American song even though the odd request at cabarets would, of course, be entertained. The inclusion of American material was centred purely, for example, on the Russians' own enjoyment of jazz and their affinity with other minority groups in the USA. As noted earlier in Chapter 2 it was in the programming of specifically Russian material and art works where Russians knew they could draw their regular American audiences. It is the promotion of this native Russian repertoire which many performers have endeavoured to support. For example, domrist Alexander Tsyganov

believes that the priority for programming must lean towards native Russian music since the very adoption of American music into the programmes may usurp the traditional Russian repertoire:

There is a feeling in some European countries that American music is becoming so popular that it is suppressing the popularity of the native folk music.[56]

The question of whether such Russian works were able to preserve their traditional characteristics within manuscript arrangements that would subsequently be performed to an American audience will be investigated in the following chapter.

ENDNOTES

[1] *War and Peace* after the C. Garnett 1904 edition, Leo Tolstoy, Translation Constance Garnett, London, Pan Books, 1972, London, p.551. The quote describes Natasha listening to Mitka's balalaika performance
[2] Chapter 1, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, February 1976, p.1
[3] F. Paserbsky was an instrument maker who assisted Andreyev in the professional improvement of the instrument and its expansion into a family of balalaikas
[4] *Elementary Method for the Balalaika*, Alexander Dorozhkin, ed. Danny Hurd, translation. Simeon N. Jurist, Henry Adler Inc. 1964, New York, pp.6-28
[5] These words of Tchaikovsky were printed on the reverse of a balalaika postcard supplied by the Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture. Translation. M. Kiszko
[6] Walter J. Kasura, Draft for *The Instruments of Andreyev's Balalaika Orchestra*, New York, April 1980, University of Illinois Music Department Special Collection, p.25
[7] Walter Kasura, ibid., p.25
[8] Draft for *The Instruments of Andreyev's Balalaika Orchestra*, Walter J. Kasura, New York, April 1980, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.15
[9] Draft for *The Instruments of Andreyev's Balalaika Orchestra*, Walter J. Kasura, April 1980, New York, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.15
[10] Data from *Musical Instruments of the Peoples of the World*, Guidebook to the exhibits at the Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture, Moscow, published by the USSR Ministry of Culture, undated, no page numbers
[11] Walter J. Kasura, April 1980 op. cit, p.10
[12] The table is quoted by Polinka from B.B. Andreyev's *Spravochnik ili kratkoye rakovodstvo dla oborudovaniya Byelikorusskogo orkestra (Instructions and Brief Guide to Equipping the Great Russian Orchestra)* 1916
[13] Walter Kasura. Table marked 'Typical Balalaika-Domra Orchestra Scoring' undated, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois
[14] February 1976, Chapter 2, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.4
[15] Kasura, 1976, op. cit., Chapter 2, p.4
[16] *Russian Folk Instruments Orchestras*, Walter J. Kasura, Draft, Chapter 2, 'Organising a Balalaika Orchestra or Ensemble' 1976, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.5
[17] Walter Kasura, ibid., p.5
[18] Dated 13 July 1979, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.1
[19] Walter Kasura, op. cit, 13 July, 1979, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.5
[20] Walter Kasura, op. cit., 13 July 1979, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.3
[21] A. Iloochin and U. Shishakov, *Russki Narodni Orkestr Izdatelstvo Muzika*, Moscow 1970
[22] Walter Kasura, op. cit., 13 July, 1979, p.1
[23] Walter Kasura, New York, April 1980, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois, p.6
[24] Walter Kasura, op. cit., 13 July 1979, p.4
[25] Walter Kasura, op. cit., 13 July 1979, p.6
[26] *Arrangement Guidelines for Russian Folk Music*, undated, Kasura Collection, University of Illinois
[27] Interview between Ray Kane and Martin Kiszko at the Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association of America., 16 July 1998, Lake George, USA
[28] Interview between Peter Trofimenko and Martin Kiszko, Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association of America, 13 July 1998, Lake George, USA
[29] Interview between Peter Trofimenko and Martin Kiszko, op. cit.
[30] Details of these guitar techniques may be found in *The Balalaika and How to Play It - A Comprehensive Guide and Tutor*, Bibs Ekkel, first printed edition (fully revised and enlarged) Autumn 1995
[31] 'Gitarnii Priem v Igre Na Balalaiki', V. Eazhigin, in *Muzikalnaya Pedagogika i Ispolnitelstvo Na Russkich Narodnich Instrumentach*, Moscow 1984, p.73
[32] Published in *Muzikalnaya Pedagogika i Ispolnitelstvo na Russkich Narodnich Instrumentach*, Moscow 1984, p.75
[33] V. Eazhigin, op.cit , p.68-77

[34] V. Eazhigin, op. cit., p.68-77
[35] Interview between Tamara Volskaya and Martin Kiszko at the Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association of the USA, 17 July 1998, Lake George, USA
[36] Interview between Anastasia Karnow and Martin Kiszko. 20th Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association of America, 17 July 1998, Lake George, USA
[37] From an interview between Andreyev and Emile Grimshaw, February 1912, B.M.G., p.68
[38] From an interview Martin Kiszko and Bruce Wood with Dmitri Gribanovsky, Urbana Illinois, 24 June 1994. The full transcription of this interview may be found in appendix 3
[39] Interview between Steve Wolownik and Martin Kiszko at the Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association, 18 July 1998, Lake George, USA
[40] Interview between Tamara Volskaya and Martin Kiszko, op. cit. 17 July 1998
[41] From an interview between Martin Kiszko, Bruce Wood and Dmitry Gribanovsky, 24 June 1994. The full transcription of this interview is available in appendix 3
[42] Interview between Norman Levine and Martin Kiszko at the Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association, 16 July 1998, Lake George, USA
[43] Walter J. Kasura, *Balalaika Reminiscences and Random Notes* from programme notes for a concert of the Balalaika and Domra Society at Alice Tully Hall Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Saturday 11 May May, 1974
[44] *New York Times*, 22 December 1946, p.43, column 5
[45] *New York Times*, 1 May 1950, p.18, column 5
[46] *New York Times*, 10 December 1950, p.80, column 7
[47] *New York Times*, 14 May 1951, p.28, column 6
[48] *New York Times*, 10 January 1955, p.26, column 2
[49] *The New York Times*, 3 October 1969, p.36, column 1
[50] Undated Sketch draft for *Organizing a Concert or Performance*, p.1, found in the Kasura Collection
[51] Walter Kasura, ibid., pp.1-6
[52] Walter Kasura, ibid., p.1
[53] Interview between Ray Kane and Martin Kiszko, op. cit., 17 July 1998
[54] Interview between Nicholas Kedroff and Martin Kiszko, Annual Convention of the Balalaika and Domra Association of America, 15 July 1998, Lake George, USA
[55] Interview between Tamara Volskaya and Martin Kiszko, op. cit., 17 July 1998, Lake George, USA
[56] Interview between Alexander Tsyganov and Joel Leonard, *BDAA Newsletter*, Vol.XVII, No.2. June 1994, p.13